



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Chap. Copyright No.

Shelf HV 5286

B6

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

NATIONAL PROHIBITORY Amendment Guide

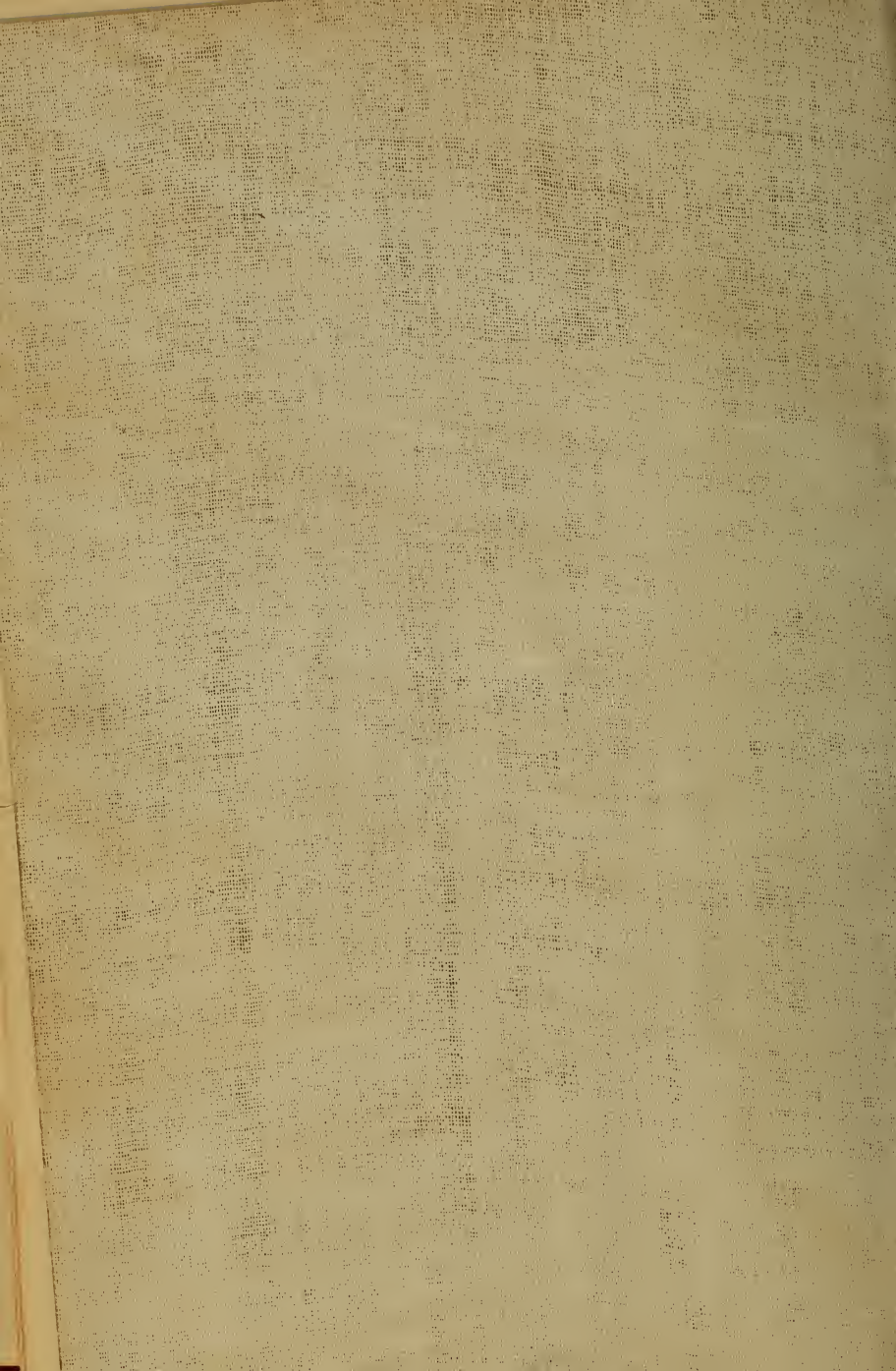


NATIONAL ADA M. BITTENBENDER. SUPT. OF
W. C. T. U.

LEGISLATION & PETITIONS.

PRICE 25 CENTS.

WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE PUBLICATION ASSOCIATION.
CHICAGO.



The Temperance Movement,

OR THE

CONFLICT BETWEEN MAN AND ALCOHOL.

BY HENRY WILLIAM BLAIR,

United States Senator from New Hampshire.

Beautifully and strikingly illustrated with the portraits of over fifty leaders in the various fields of temperance work, with colored diagrams prepared by eminent physicians, and numerous comparative diagrams and tables, and a map locating the nearly ten thousand saloons of New York City.

ITS SCOPE.

The whole range of Temperance Discussion, Effort and History.

THE VERDICT.

It is the verdict of the public everywhere—attested by the opinions of the leading minds on one hand, and by the sale accorded the work on the other—that this book of Senator Blair's is the great standard work on the subject, and will be accepted as such from this time. It is certain that so extensive and comprehensive a work has never before been attempted. It is also everywhere agreed that the wide circulation of this great book will add a mighty force to the temperance agitation.

"There will be no end of its usefulness. I will wear it out as a book of reference. This work will live to do good after we are all resting beyond the recurrence of fatigue."
—*T. De Witt Talmage.*

"The best temperance encyclopedia we have had. Will be to the Grand Army of the Temperance Reform what General Grant has been to the Grand Army of the Republic. This book will make an epoch in temperance literature."—*Frances E. Willard.*

"The most comprehensive book of the kind yet published. The portraits that illustrate the volume are remarkably good."—*Mary A. Livermore.*

"A most opportune book to post prohibition workers, and convince the unconverted reader. Its treatment of the National phase of the liquor problem is not only unequalled, but will be especially invaluable during the campaign for National Constitutional Prohibition."—*Ada M. Bittenbender.*

"He speaks as a public man, from the realm of the statesman and not the reformer. Therefore his words should have weight and command attention."—*Mary T. Lathrap.*

"The book is worthy the man and worthy the theme."—*J. Ellen Foster.*

"I feel there is no higher work to do for temperance than to help circulate this masterly work."—*Angie F. Newman.*

"The book is concise, powerful, deeply impressive, and suggestive."—*Mrs. President James K. Polk.*

"I most heartily commend it. The outlook is wide, the statistics reliable, and the arguments undisputable."—*Clara C. Hoffman.*

"Senator Blair seems to have absorbed all that is known concerning all phases of the subject of temperance, and given it out to the public in this masterly book."—*Mary L. Dickinson.*

"The best single volume that America has produced on the temperance movement I now deliberately hold up before this Boston audience. It is the famous work just issued by Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, and already in wide and effective circulation. In his high place in Congress, Senator Blair champions the most advanced and radical ideas of the temperance reform, and so makes the whole nation and the next century his debtors."—*Joseph Cook.*

"To have written such a book is more than any political honors which could be bestowed upon its author."—*John G. Whittier.*

"I do not know of any work so thorough, and at the same time so lucid and concise on the subject of drunkenness as yours."—*Dr. William A. Hammond.*

"It is the best compendium I have seen of the history, development, and progress of the Temperance Reform in the world, and of the arguments historical, statistical, and legal, to sustain the cause of organic prohibition."—*Col. Switzler, Chief U. S. Bureau Statistics.*

"I hope the W. C. T. U. will adopt energetic measures for the national circulation of this important work."—*Bishop John P. Newman.*

"Senator Blair's book gathers up nearly all that is worth preserving in previous discussions of the liquor problem, and furnishes us a temperance cyclopedia in facts, but in the better form of an eloquent cumulative argument for that highest watchword of the Temperance reform. 'A National Evil Demands a National Remedy.'"—*Rev. Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts.*

"There is no gush in that book, no wild imagination from excited ministers. The bold facts are there as desolate as the Sahara Desert."—*Rev. G. W. Gallagher.*

"This book, so eagerly looked for, is before us. In it we find condensed and combined a great amount of valuable information concerning alcohol, its effects upon the body, upon wealth, and the welfare of the people, various remedies employed, their partial or entire failure, which proves the necessity of National Prohibition."—*The Union Signal.*

"This is a very elaborate work upon one of the most important questions of practical politics. . . . It is refreshing to greet such a work by a man in active and successful public life. Mr. Blair is an honor to New Hampshire, and will be classed by future ages among the benefactors of his race."—*The Woman's Journal.*

"It is an able, impressive, and instructive work."—*The Congregationalist.*

"This remarkable book has been discriminatingly designated by the press as an encyclopaedia. It is eminently a book for the family, of equal interest to the young and the old. His style is in the best sense popular . . . sure to secure and retain the attention of the general reader."—*Universalist Quarterly.*

A GREAT BOOK FOR AGENTS.

Senator Blair's book sells wherever it is shown. Even the man who drinks too much and knows it, welcomes this volume and reads its pages with absorbing interest.

THE STUDENT,

THE EDUCATOR,

THE LABORING MAN,

THE PROFESSIONAL MAN,

ALL WHO LOVE HOME AND NATIVE LAND will be interested in this story of the conflict between Man and Alcohol.

We Want Agents.

Will give liberal terms. The book can be sold everywhere—by everybody. Those who are temperance workers and those who are not specially so, can dispose of this book readily. If you want to put money into the cause, sell this book and give the profits to the W. C. T. U. of your place. Thousands of Miss Willard's book, "Glimpses of Fifty Years," have been sold in this way.

For terms, territory, and full particulars, address

THE PUBLISHERS,
THE WOMAN'S TEMP. PUB. ASS'N,
161 La Salle Street,
Chicago.

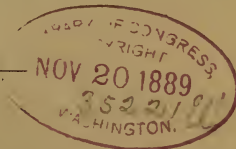
OR **GENERAL AGENTS,**
H. J. SMITH & Co.,
Chicago, New York, Philadelphia,
Kansas City, Mo., Oakland, Cal.

THE
National Prohibitory Amendment
GUIDE.

ADA M. BITTENBENDER,

National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

"THIS EVIL (THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC) RUNS WITH THE BLOOD THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE SYSTEM OF NATIONAL LIFE, AND NOTHING BUT NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT WILL CURE IT."—*U. S. Senate Report, favoring submission of the Prohibitory Amendment.*



CHICAGO :
WOMAN'S TEMPERANCE PUBLICATION ASSOCIATION,
161 La Salle Street.
1889.

HV 5286

.B6

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1889, by

ADA M. BITTENBENDER,

In the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington.

CONTENTS.

Introduction by Frances E. Willard.

Preface by the Author.

PART I.

HISTORY, ARGUMENTS, INDORSEMENTS.

	Page
Brief account of the Amendment—original and present form	I
National Temperance Society amendment	3
Memorials and petitions	3
Speeches	5
Amendment—present form	5
Reports—present form:	
Adverse report	5
Views of the minority	6
Favorable report	7
Report—original form	10
Amendment—original form	12
The first vote	13
National Temperance Society address	14
National W. C. T. U. argument	19
Views of Senator Blair	31
Views of other leading Prohibitionists:	
Frances E. Willard	36
Samuel Dickie	36
Gen. Clinton B. Fisk	36
W. Jennings Demorest	37
T. De Witt Talmage, D. D.	37
Daniel Dorchester, D. D.	38
Indorsements of organizations and newspapers:	
Temperance societies	38
Religious bodies	39
Political parties	41
Religious press	41
Secular press	45
The famous "Memorial of the American home for protection from the American saloon"	64
Miss Willard's address	65
National Prohibition <i>versus</i> the High License and Local Option policy	66
Strength of Constitutional Prohibition sentiment	66
Origin of State Constitutional prohibition	68

PART II.

PLAN OF CANVASS FOR NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

National Prohibitory Amendment committees	Page 71
Work of National Prohibitory Amendment committees:	
I. Before proposal of the Amendment	72
II. After proposal of the Amendment	72
How to organize National Prohibitory Amendment committees:	
For local work	72
For Congressional work	74
For State Legislative work	74

I.—Before Proposal of the Amendment.

General directions to N. P. A. committees for local work	75
Registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists	78
Congressional petition work:	
Forms of Popular and Representative petitions	80
How to use the petitions	82
Form of Indorsement on Popular Petitions	84
Appearance of properly indorsed Popular petition	85
Public discussions	86
Résumé of the canvass	86
How to record public discussions	89
Press work	89
How to record press work	91
Distribution of literature	91
How to record the distribution of literature	92
Reporting local work to Prohibition organizations	92
Monthly reports and form of	93
Semi-annual reports and forms of	94
Summary of voters	98
Congressional canvassing—preparation, performance, annual reports	98

II.—After Proposal of the Amendment.

General directions to N. P. A. committees for State legislative work	99
Form of registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists	99
State Legislative petition work:	
Forms of Popular and Representative petitions	100
How to use petitions—form of indorsement on Popular petitions	101
Reporting local work to Prohibition organizations	102
State Legislative canvassing—preparation, performance, reports	103
Receipts and Expenditures of committees—How to record	104

INTRODUCTION.

As there is but one keystone to an arch, so there is but one to the Prohibition movement. In the nature of the case, this must be so, and every temperance expert knows that *Prohibition by an amendment to the National Constitution* is that keystone to the arch, that clincher of the argument, that final outcome of the mightiest reform movement under the sun.

The argument may be reviewed more vividly by illustration: Uncle Sam owns a farm; it is divided into forty-two fields (States), leased by his nephews, while he has seven new fields (Territories), besides the home garden (District of Columbia), under his care. The use of bitters by the hands is the great curse that afflicts Uncle Sam's farm. It makes the hired men lazy, unhealthy, and many of them criminal. Six of his nephews have declared they would not allow this wretched drink to be either made or sold in their fields, have held a meeting of all their tenants, and agreed to keep out the nuisance or die in the attempt. They have gone about this with so much pluck and determination that they would actually have kept their fields comparatively free, but for one thing, viz.: Uncle Sam has a different theory about controlling this dangerous drink. He says: "It is a great evil, but I will make it a 'great beneficence.' In the first place, we shall always have these bitters made and sold—you may set that down for a fixed fact. Farmer John Bull sends it across the waters, and I shall let it in, but not till he has paid a heavy tax. That will go a good ways toward supporting me, and make your rent less. Then, as they will make this stuff anyhow, I will just let it go on in my seven new fields and in my garden spot, and you must not mind if I have it carted through your fields on the way to my own; besides, I'll let 'em make it under my own eye, in places set apart for that purpose, right in the fields next yours, where they have n't this fanatical rule that you have about not letting it be made or sold. Then, in my own garden patch I'll make special arrangements not to have it sold unless each man that keeps it pays so much, right direct to me. If they'll do that, I'll let it come straight into my own house with the big dome."

But Uncle Sam's nephews are not so stupid as the old gentleman imagines. They reply: "Now see here! so long as you give a writing to the men that make these bitters, telling them they may, and taking ninety cents for yourself on every gallon they manufacture, so long will you want this drink made and sold. Don't you see that you are the great bitters-maker yourself? You stand by, and weigh and measure, and make sure that you know just how much the bitters man manufactures, and then you shut it up tight and put a watch dog at the door so that nobody can go in or out

without your knowing it. Then, when the man sells a gallon, you take four-fifths of the profits. If he sells to another man that works the stuff into some other kind of drink, you make the last man pay you \$200 for this privilege; if he sells at wholesale you charge him \$150; if he sells it out to our hands in small quantities, \$25. Then, by doing this you make it next to impossible for us to keep the stuff out of our fields. Bitters are so handy to smuggle across the line that we can never keep the abomination out altogether, do what we will. When you go to cart them through our fields it is so easy to let a keg drop off here and there!"

"Besides," continue these go-ahead, anti-bitters men, "as your rules now stand, you come into our fields, and if you find a man convicted of selling, you make him pay you so much, so that he gets a sort of permit from you that makes it harder for us to convict him of his bad behavior. I tell you, Uncle Sam, we don't propose to stand this thing much longer, but to send a lot of our men to your garden patch and make you do us justice. We are on the war path for that very thing. We've picked out our leaders and counted up our men, and will be along quicker than you've any notion of, to turn the bitters out of your big house and clear it up generally.

"Then we'll proceed to fix up those seven fields so they'll never have a bitters factory or a bitters shop. We'll notify Farmer John across the way that he's got to shut up shop, as far as coming over to your farm with his product is concerned: and then we'll proceed to draw up a writing and get all your forty-two nephews to sign it, promising never to allow this bitters business to go on anywhere inside the boundaries of the old farm, because if it's *made at all* some of the farm hands are sure to get hold of it, and then away go comfort and peace."

It is a happy thing for us that at the providential time, a woman has been raised up to plan for us this long, laborious and last campaign; a woman who brings to her great task the discipline of mind that comes of a thorough legal education, Mrs. Bittenbender being an attorney of seven years' standing and the third woman admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. But, best of all, we have in the chosen legal adviser of the National W. C. T. U., one who hears and heeds the inward voice with its "Thus saith the Lord," and, "This is the way, walk ye in it."

Let us rally to the call, mobilize the army, nationalize the movement, and march steadily onward with the white banner of *National Constitutional Prohibition*, to the music of our motto, "For God and Home and Native Land."

October, 1889.

Frances E. Willard.

PREFACE.

The necessity of nationalizing the temperance reform is now generally recognized by the soldiers on duty in the Prohibition army.

The main lesson taught by State Amendment defeats is this necessity.

"On to Washington" is the rallying cry.

The object of this manual is to aid in obtaining a National Prohibitory Amendment which shall outlaw forever the traffic in alcoholic beverages.

As construed, the Constitution of the United States is the bulwark of the nefarious traffic.

Even if the Constitution should be construed so as to permit of unlimited prohibitory enactments by individual States, either in amending their constitutions or by statutory provisions, still there would remain the necessity of National legislation which should affect the whole country, including the Territories and those States which are not inclined to prohibit the traffic. And nothing but National legislation could possibly include in the prohibition the imported article, without which the prohibition of the domestic article throughout the country would be of little avail.

Because of the construction given the Constitution, this National legislation must be of a constitutional character; but should it be interpreted differently, still the inhibition ought to be expressed in the organic law to insure permanent protection.

Election of men to Congress favoring proposal of the Amendment, and to State legislatures favoring its ratification, is not herein considered. The skirmishes with *ballots* may compel their election. If they do not, a "*battle of ballots*" will. The forces are being massed and drilled for the latter. The canvass in hand deals with the elected.

This canvass is mainly to register National Constitutional Prohibitionists and to proclaim their number from time to time, as the work progresses, to the law-makers and people in general. At present there is no way of determining their numerical strength. In fact no enrollment of the army in its entirety has ever been attempted. Its soldiers of the Prohibition party are counted through the ballot-box; but those of the Prohibition army who still remain in the old political parties there is no way to count.

When the footings of this register indicate that one-half of the adult people of the United States have enlisted in the war for the extermination of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and desire that the Constitution shall

express the National will on the subject, the amendment will be proposed and ratified. But this is not likely to take place until such showing is made.

The first part of the manual contains a brief account of National Prohibitory Amendments and Congressional action in relation thereto; arguments, indorsements of organizations and newspapers, etc. The second part consists of the plan of canvass for National Constitutional Prohibition.

The canvass is to be carried on by three classes of National Prohibitory Amendment Committees, composed of representatives of the various Prohibition organizations of the United States, viz.:

1. National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for local work.
2. National Prohibitory Amendment Committee for Congressional work.
3. National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for State legislative work.

The representatives on the two last named committees are to consist of the general officers of the National or State Prohibition societies, the general officers of the National or State Executive Committee of the Prohibition party, and the National or State W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

The local canvassing is to be carried on in canvassing districts, each consisting of one school district, except in large cities where the school district may be divided into several canvassing districts.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union having made this Amendment a special line of work, having county and district as well as local and State organizations through which to carry it on, and having a suitable department—that of Legislation and Petitions—ready to do its bidding, the initiatory steps for the organization of these committees and the responsibility for executing a part of the system of official reporting, are committed to its care.

The National Prohibitory Amendment obtained, the Prohibition army will have the enforcing statutes and their execution to labor for. But these parts of the work will be comparatively easy, public sentiment being educated and ready to give sanction.

THE AUTHOR.

Lincoln, Nebraska, October 1, 1889.

The National Prohibitory Amendment Guide.

PART I.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE AMENDMENT—ORIGINAL AND PRESENT FORM.

A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States in relation to alcoholic beverages, was introduced in the Forty-fourth Congress, on December 12, 1876, by Hon. Henry W. Blair, from New Hampshire, then a member of the House of Representatives. This was the first measure of the kind ever presented in our National Legislature and preceded by several years any effective proposal of a prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of a State.

In response to the request for a brief account of the National Prohibitory Amendment, both in its original and in its present form, Senator Blair, in a letter dated April 27, 1889, says :

“ I was elected to the Forty-fourth Congress on the second Tuesday of March, 1875. The Congressional District in which I resided, had been Democratic during the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses, and the struggle for supremacy in 1875 was very close and intense. There had been a small temperance party, the Third party, commonly so-called, for some years in New Hampshire. Many young clergymen belonged to it, or sympathized with it, who had been Republicans, and still sympathized generally with that party. I had always been known as a Prohibitionist ; had been disabled for several years from wounds received and disease contracted in the army ; and these men just quietly did all they could to secure my election. They did this without conditions or hesitation, and with great earnestness. I was elected by a plurality of 164 votes. I had in my own mind felt that there was no effective way of dealing with the liquor crime but by national prohibition, ever since I comprehended much of it and of the relations between the government of the Nation and of the States. Feeling under obligation to do something to manifest my appreciation of the honorable and ungrudging manner in which I had been supported by

those men of the Third party whom I have mentioned, I determined to do what no one else had done, and what it then seemed hopeless, and almost foolish to attempt.

“Reflecting much from time to time, upon the form of the necessary amendment to the National Constitution, and the condition of public sentiment, prejudice and opinion, and the power of the traffic which was to be encountered, I was in great perplexity, until finally, one glorious morning, as I was riding over Bridgewater Heights, which separate the villages of Plymouth and Bristol, at a point on the highway from which there is one of the most beautiful and sublime views of the White Mountain ranges, the Pemigewasset valley and other combinations of lake, valley and mountain, in both rugged and cultivated beauty, such as I know not of outside my native State, the mass of confused and unformed ideas which had been in my mind reduced themselves to definite proportions, substantially as I subsequently introduced and advocated them in the proposed amendment; in this form I introduced it in every succeeding Congress and pressed it upon public attention until I introduced that which was pending in the Fiftieth Congress, which has the more general sanction of temperance societies.

“The form in which it was last introduced is one which was agreed upon in personal conference between Mr. Powell, Mr. Stearns and myself, upon two occasions, and by correspondence with Miss Willard, Mr. Finch, and I believe with other leading Prohibitionists.

“For several years the National Temperance Society has advocated and procured to be introduced a proposed amendment, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of all forms of intoxicating liquors as beverages. You know the action of the W. C. T. U. and of various societies, churches, etc., etc.

“In the hope of securing harmony of action I have yielded my own judgment of the most efficient plan of making the attack with a view to early success, and of facilitating that gradual process which must precede complete victory. I had thought that the result would be earlier achieved in the original form of the amendment, which proposed to become operative absolutely by National law against the distilled drinks, from and after the year 1900, and, at once, for all time, give to the States unfettered control to prohibit, *not to license nor indulge*, the traffic in both distilled and fermented liquors—each State being in effect clothed at once with all the powers of a separate and independent nation, to control the manufacture, sale, importation, exportation and transportation throughout its own jurisdiction.

“I wish to say this much in regard to the original form of the Amendment.

“The temperance organizations of the country which believe in Prohibition, are united in the earnest support of the form in which it is now

presented. And it is to be hoped that all who desire the destruction of the traffic will concentrate every energy in the promotion of the great reform—which must be nationalized or fail.” *

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY AMENDMENT.

In the Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses, the Hon. Preston B. Plumb, from Kansas, introduced a joint resolution for a Prohibitory Amendment which included fermented liquors. It was prepared by Aaron M. Powell, for the National Temperance Society, and is essentially the Kansas amendment. Its introduction was caused because the National Temperance Society felt, that, as a total abstinence society, they could not support Senator Blair's Amendment in its original form on account of its discrimination concerning fermented liquors. All having agreed upon the joint resolution as introduced by Senator Blair in the Fiftieth Congress, the one formulated from the Kansas amendment was not again introduced.

The Kansas form was also introduced, at Mr. Powell's request, in the House of Representatives of the Forty-sixth Congress, by Hon. L. W. Ballou, from Rhode Island. It was not always subsequently introduced in the House in the succeeding Congresses.

No action was ever taken on it in either body beyond printing and reference to committees.

MEMORIALS AND PETITIONS.

The Records of Congress show that for several years prior to the first introduction of the Amendment, memorials and petitions began to be received by Congress praying for the submission of such an amendment. These, variously worded and numerous signed, were from individuals, churches, and the different temperance societies of the country—national, state and local.

A petition presented in the Senate on February 15, 1875, was signed by over twelve hundred citizens of South Carolina, asking Congress for submission of “an amendment to the Constitution to prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of all intoxicating liquors, to take effect on the first day of January, 1876, or as soon thereafter as possible.”

Hon. Aaron A. Sargent, in presenting petitions for such an amendment, March 1, 1875, said: “I present a large number of petitions numerous signed by citizens of California, stating that crime, violence, immorality, poverty and domestic misery are all attributable to the use of intoxicating spirits, and that the amount of loss occasioned by them is greater than the amount of revenue derived from them, and they ask for

*For wording of the original form, see page 10.

an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which shall prohibit the manufacture, importation and sale of all intoxicating liquors, to take effect on the first of January, 1876, or as soon thereafter as possible. I will remark that I find that these petitions are largely signed by women. The only manner by which they can be heard in the National Councils is by petition. I trust the day will soon come when their influence may be felt more directly ; but, awaiting that time, I move that these petitions be referred to the Committee on Finance."

The eighth National Temperance Convention, called by the National Temperance Society, held at Chicago in 1875, declared in a resolution unanimously adopted, as follows :

"Resolved, That the time has arrived more fully to consider the relations of the National Government to, and its responsibility for, the alcoholic liquor traffic ; that we hereby ask the Forty-fourth Congress to prohibit the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic beverages in the District of Columbia and in the Territories of the United States ; and to prohibit their importation from foreign countries ; to require total abstinence from all alcoholic beverages on the part of all officials in the civil, military and naval services ; and to initiate and adopt for ratification by the several States of the Union a constitutional amendment which shall make the traffic in alcoholic beverages illegal throughout our National domain."

This resolution was incorporated into a memorial, and used by other temperance societies, and by religious bodies, in petitioning Congress on the subject.

The National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, held at Washington, D. C., in 1881,

"Resolved, That we attest our approval of Senator Blair in his noble standing for temperance in the halls of our National Congress, and pledge ourselves, as soon as possible, to roll into the Senate a petition of one million names for an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of all alcoholic liquors, fermented and distilled."

The following extract from the Senate Report on the Amendment, made July 9, 1883, shows the amount of petitioning which had been accomplished at that time by the combined forces at work :

"Judging from the petitions which have been presented to Congress during the last few years, many of which are representative of great bodies and of communities whose individual signatures have not been obtained, it can hardly be doubted that at least ten millions of the American people are desirous of National legislation for the destruction of poisonous, that is to say, of alcoholic drinks."

Since that report was made, during the winter of 1888-89, the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions collected and forwarded to Congress more than fifty thousand individual signatures.

Besides, several memorials and petitions, officially signed, representing large associations, have been received by Congress. The most notable one was the memorial signed by the committee appointed by the National Coun-

cil of the Congregational Churches of the United States, which represented 4,277 churches, containing 436,379 members. These were received also during the winter of 1888-89.

The records of Congress do not show any memorials or petitions against the Amendment as having been received.

SPEECHES.

Senator Blair's speeches, so far, are the only ones ever made in Congress by any one in favor of National Constitutional Prohibition.

His first was made in the House of Representatives on December 27, 1876, which is printed and for sale by the National Temperance Society, No. 58 Reade Street, New York.

His first speech on the Amendment in the United States Senate was made April 26, 1886.

AMENDMENT.—PRESENT FORM.

[First introduced in the Fiftieth Congress, December 12, 1887.]

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States as provided in the Constitution :

ARTICLE—.

SECTION 1. The manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage shall, and hereby is, forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

ADVERSE REPORT.

BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

[First report on the Amendment in its present form—Submitted February 7th, 1888.]

The Committee on the Judiciary, having had under consideration the joint resolution (H. Res. 15), proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage, believe the proposed amendment to be unwise and inexpedient, and report the same adversely, and recommend that it lie upon the table.

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

Hon. A. X. Parker, from New York, dissented from the adverse report made by the majority of the committee, and submitted the following minority report :

The proposition under consideration was introduced by Mr. Dingley, of Maine, and provides as follows :

That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, as provided in the Constitution :

ARTICLE—.

SECTION 1. The manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage shall be, and hereby is, forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall enforce this acticle by all needful legislation.

The undersigned, dissenting from the report made by the majority of the committee, herein, respectfully submits :

That the question of the sale of alcoholic liquors as a beverage, according to existing customs, has become recognized as one of national scope and importance.

That it is a matter of common information that religious societies numbering many millions in their membership urge the suppression of the liquor traffic ; and that extensive and powerful labor organizations are proclaiming that the dram-shop is the foe of the workingman's family and that temperance is the very corner-stone of prosperity, and call for Congressional action upon the side of reform ; while the social, industrial, and reform societies which exist in almost every community in the land, and unite the contributions and labors of multitudes of earnest and influential men and women, demand national action.

If the people thus speaking are mistaken in their views they may be disregarded, but if they are right they should be heeded.

It is not necessary to make argument as to whether they are right or wrong, as it is a matter of observation or experience with almost every one that alcoholic beverages are injurious to mankind.

Therefore, it is respectfully submitted that Congress should adopt the resolution. By so doing, it will properly respond to the just requirements of millions of American citizens.

It will also nationalize the temperance movement and attach it to the very foundations of our civil organization ; it will challenge the attention of the people from the most exalted platform from which they can be addressed, and will designate the States as the battle-fields for finally deciding this impending conflict.

A. X. PARKER.

FAVORABLE REPORT.

By the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Hon. Henry W. Blair, from New Hampshire, Chairman.

[First favorable report on the Amendment in its present form.—Submitted July 9th, 1888.]

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States as provided in the Constitution.

ARTICLE—.

SECTION 1. The manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage shall be, and hereby is, forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

In submitting this favorable report upon the aforesaid joint resolution it is proper to say that there are members of the committee who concur in the report recommending the submission of the proposed amendment to the States who do not, by such action, indicate their approval of the adoption of the amendment as a part of the Constitution nor that they would themselves advocate its ratification by the legislatures of the States; but in deference to the immense mass of petitions for this amendment of the organic law, coming from the people in all parts of the country, and believing that an opportunity should be given to them to be heard upon the merits of their cause in the forum of the States, where alone it can be heard and decided, the majority of the committee would deem a refusal to submit the proposed amendment to the States for consideration analogous to the denial of the right of a party to be heard in court upon a question of private right. The method provided in the Constitution for its own peaceful amendment would be destroyed by failure to submit the proposition for amendment in cases of grave moment involving the approval and prayers of multitudes of the people, for where the remedy sought is admitted to be without the jurisdiction of the fundamental law, the petition is really addressed to the only tribunal which can enlarge that jurisdiction, that is to say, to the States themselves. Should, then, Congress in such case refuse to submit the proposal to the States, such refusal would constitute a substantial denial of the right of petition itself.

The changes in the national Constitution made indispensable by the development of the nation can only be peacefully accomplished by a judicious and liberal exercise of the power of Congress to propose amendments to the States upon the petition of those who desire to be heard in the great court of the people exercising their sovereignty through the States, as in the formation of the Constitution.

It is well known that but for the belief in the conventions of the States that the opportunity to amend the Constitution would be most liberally afforded by Congress in accordance with the forms provided in that instrument, the original ratification never would have been obtained. Some of the States ratified only because it was firmly believed that, whatever might be the opinions of Congress upon the modifications desired by those who considered the instrument proposed for ratification as fatally defective without them, the suggested amendments would be submitted to the subsequent action of the States almost as a matter of course.

While the committee would by no means justify the submission of trifling or uncalled-for propositions for the consideration of the States, yet they firmly believe that the perpetuity and peace of the country under the forms of constitutional government demand that there be no captious or arbitrary denial of the right of petition for the amendment of the fundamental law through the forms of Congressional submission to the tribunal of the people in the States.

THE AGITATION FOR NATIONAL LEGISLATION

for the extirpation of the traffic in alcoholic poison made and sold to be used as a beverage will never cease to disturb and finally destroy great political parties, until they submit the question of the enlargement of national constitutional jurisdiction so as to include control of the subject.

When this proposed amendment is submitted to the action of the States the subject will pass in its important features from the national arena to that of the several States until the fate of the proposed amendment is decided. When decided, if adversely to the ratification, the subject will be eliminated from national politics, at least for many years.

If, on the other hand, the proposed amendment should be ratified and become a part of the national law, the chief curse of the world would be summoned to the block of national justice, and die by the hand of the only power which can wield an axe big and sharp enough to cut off its hydra head.

Then we should have peace.

But the agitation for the destruction of the liquor traffic can not cease until the evils which it inflicts upon mankind are removed or the human race is destroyed.

It is useless to cry peace, peace, when there is no peace. It is time to face the subject. Evasion has become almost impossible, and the effort requires an activity which is too exhaustive for long continuance.

PETITIONS.

Judging from the petitions which have been presented to Congress during the last few years, many of which are representative of great bodies and of communities whose individual signatures have not been obtained, it can hardly be doubted that at least ten millions of the American people

are desirous of national legislation for the destruction of poisonous, that is to say, of alcoholic, drinks.

These people represent a power of thought and a moral force far greater than their mere numbers. Whoever expects to withstand the shock of their charge will yet regret that its irresistible power was not seasonably realized.

These petitions for the opportunity to amend the National Constitution must be heard and will be heard. Those who will oppose them in the States will yet demand that they shall be heard in the States upon the proposition of a prohibitory amendment of the National Constitution.

To deny this is to subvert the republican form of government, and the honorable opponents of the measure will not always refuse to its friends that hearing in court which is the sacred right of every American, and especially in a matter of so great national concern.

CLAIMS OF ADVOCATES.

It is claimed by the advocates of this amendment that the liquor traffic is a unit of evil which submerges the whole nation, and that there can be no complete, and certainly no permanent elevation of any part above this "sea of trouble," which is not the result of a lifting force exerted continuously by the nation in its organic capacity everywhere throughout the whole country, co-operating with and supplementing, and, when necessary to accomplish the end, overruling and subordinating the action of the States.

At the present time the police power in the States is fettered and thwarted in its efforts to suppress this evil within the limits of the States, respectively, by the national guaranties of protection to transportation, and the rights of manufacture and sale existing in all the States and localities which decline to impose the necessary restriction.

This evil runs with the blood throughout the whole system of national life, and nothing but national constitutional treatment will cure it.

It is not a local disease. To be sure there are local ulcerations, but they extend all over the body. It has become a confluent eruption which must be medicined from within as well as from without. It can not be cured by the external application of patches of plaster upon the States, whose combined surfaces, with that of the Territories, cover that of the entire national body.

The police power in government, the power of the people to preserve order, health, and good morals, is said to be vested in the States. The liquor traffic is believed by the advocates of this resolution for the amendment of the Constitution to be directly destructive to society, and consequently of all ends for which the police power exists. From the very nature of the liquor evil, and the fact that we are a nation and but one nation, this omnipresent national evil can not be controlled by the feeble efforts of States. From their juxtaposition they could hardly protect them-

selves against each other, even if they were absolutely independent nations. But now the nation controls both interstate and foreign commerce, protects the manufacture, wherever local law permits it to, and the distribution and sale to such extent everywhere that without national action the evil must be perpetual as far as its removal depends upon law.

National constitutional legislation, therefore, becomes necessary to preserve the police power itself, which, under existing national laws and the relations between the States themselves, as well as between the general Government and the States, is nullified, and the health, morals and good order of society destroyed.

Such are a few of the arguments by which the advocates of this measure press its consideration upon us.

The proposal to amend the Constitution in this regard has been pending in Congress since the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress.

THE FORM OF THE PROPOSITION

as now submitted has been modified so as to harmonize the conflicting views of its own friends, and to secure, as far as the committee is aware, the universal support of all who desire the national prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic poisons made to be used as beverages.

The report of the committee of the last Congress in favor of a like amendment is herewith submitted as a part of this, together with the able and exhaustive address before the committee by A. M. Powell, Esq., who represented the National Temperance Society, and the lucid and comprehensive argument of Mrs. Ada M. Bittenbender, the accomplished attorney of the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union, both of which are incorporated as a part of this report, and will render further discussion by the committee unnecessary.

This form* of amendment was proposed and advocated by the chairman of the committee in the House of Representatives of the Forty-fourth Congress, and in every Congress since until the present, the Fiftieth Congress. The form in which the amendment was introduced at this session by the chairman of the committee, and in which it is now reported without alteration, has been agreed upon by the leading temperance organizations of the country, by all of whom it is indorsed and supported.

REPORT—ORIGINAL FORM.

[Senate Report No. 1563. Forty-ninth Congress, first session. Only report on the Amendment in its original form.]

Submitted by Senator Blair :

The Committee on Education and Labor, to whom was referred the joint resolution of the Senate No. 6, "proposing an amendment to the Constitution in relation to alcoholic liquors and other poisonous bever-

*See end of report, page 12.

ages," have considered the same, and by a majority of their number report the joint resolution back favorably, and recommend its passage, and that the proposed amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the States for their action, with a view to the ratification thereof, as provided in the Constitution.

The committee does not deem it necessary to discuss the evils wrought by the use of alcohol, in its various forms and degrees of purity and of adulteration as a beverage, upon the life, health, industry, property, morals, character and destiny of the American people and of the world. Whatever be the remedy, whether by the enactment and enforcement of laws, by the forces of education, and motives addressed to the moral nature and will of the individual, or by a combination of all restrictive agencies, the whole people, with very few exceptions, admit the existence of the curse itself, and cry out, "Who and what shall deliver us from this body of death?" Your committee believe

PUBLIC SENTIMENT IS RIPE

for the consideration and adoption of the best means, and of all the means, and the exertion of all the forces, both in the Nation and in the States, to effect the extirpation of the alcoholic evil.

Thus far the people have struggled to accomplish this end with

NO HELP FROM NATIONAL LAW.

On the contrary, the recognition and protection given to alcoholic drink as property, as a legitimate article of manufacture everywhere and for all uses, and of commerce, both interstate and international, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, have always constituted one of the chief obstacles to the success of that great movement known as the temperance reform, and until there be a change in the fundamental law of the nation giving complete jurisdiction over the subject to assist, and, if necessary, to reverse the action of the States by the power of the whole body politic throughout the whole national domain, the efforts of the people through State and local agencies will always be greatly hindered and generally in the end will fail.

But, however that may be, the question considered by the committee is not one primarily touching the merits of the proposed amendment itself, but whether there is a sufficient public sentiment in favor of the submission of the amendment to the action of the people to require the passage of the joint resolution.

The majority of the committee believe that the minds of the most careful and conservative students of the liquor problem are rapidly coming to the conclusion that this evil must and can only be removed by national legislation enforced by the national will in co-operation with the efforts of the States.

In nearly every voting precinct of this country there are American citi-

zens who desire the proposed amendment to the National Constitution. They are determined upon political action. They will have it through existing political organizations, or they will destroy one or both of the great organizations of to-day, and form one which will consent to take the sense of the people upon the question of amending the Constitution so as to give national jurisdiction over the traffic in strong drink. Why should they be denied the opportunity to be heard in the only forum which can pass upon the question? When any considerable and respectable portion of the American people desire to plead their cause before the great tribunal of sovereigns, who, in a free country, decide every fundamental issue in the last resort, it is the

DUTY OF CONGRESS

to enact such preliminary legislation as is here proposed, so that under the forms of the Constitution they can be heard on the question of its own amendment. To deny this is of the very essence of despotism, and for Congress unreasonably to refuse the hearing is just cause of revolution. The people will demand a hearing for every large and respectable minority, and to grant this opportunity is the purpose of this resolution. Whatever may be the result, all must abide by it. But there can be no justification of a denial of the right to be heard.

Until that right is granted, there will be, there can be, no peace to political parties in this country. If there could be, it would prove that the nature of our government was already changed, and that under the forms of a progressive free republic we are become a hide-bound despotism, having a name to live, but really already dead.

Your committee are unable at this late period of the session properly to present the great cause the promotion of which is the purpose of this resolution. Fortunately it is not necessary. We appeal to the universal sentiment which is the very basis of our political institutions, the right of every voting citizen to be heard at the polls upon every great question which concerns the public weal. Than this there can be none more important, and we earnestly hope the resolution may be adopted in the furtherance of the exercise of the primal rights of American sovereignty, which are that of each citizen to be heard by all, and of any considerable portion of the people to demand a verdict of the whole upon great issues which concern the general weal.

The following is the joint resolution as reported by the committee of the Forty-ninth Congress :

AMENDMENT—ORIGINAL FORM.

[Forty-ninth Congress, first session, S. R. 6.]

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each house concurring therein), that the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the legis-

latures of three-fourths of the several States, as provided in the Constitution :

ARTICLE—. SECTION 1. From and after the year of our Lord nineteen hundred the manufacture and sale of distilled alcoholic intoxicating liquors, or alcoholic liquors any part of which is obtained by distillation or process equivalent thereto, or any intoxicating liquors mixed or adulterated with ardent spirits or with any poison whatever, except for medicinal, mechanical, chemical and scientific purposes, and for use in the arts, anywhere within the United States and Territories thereof, shall cease ; and the importation of such liquors from foreign states and countries to the United States and Territories, and the exportation of such liquors from and the transportation thereof within and through any part of this country, except for the use and purposes aforesaid, shall be, and hereby are, forever thereafter prohibited.

SEC. 2. Nothing in this article shall be construed to waive or abridge any existing power of Congress, nor the right, which is hereby recognized, of the people of any State or Territory, to enact laws to prevent the increase and for the suppression or regulation of the manufacture, sale and use of liquors and the ingredients thereof, any part of which is alcoholic, intoxicating, or poisonous, within its own limits, and for the exclusion of such liquors and ingredients therefrom at any time, as well before as after the close of the year of our Lord nineteen hundred ; but until then, and until ten years after the ratification hereof as provided in the next section, no State or Territory shall interfere with the transportation of said liquor or ingredients, in packages safely secured, over the usual lines of traffic, to other States and Territories wherein the manufacture, sale, and use thereof for other purposes and use than those excepted in the first section shall be lawful : *Provided*, That the true destination of such packages be plainly marked thereon.

SEC. 3. Should this article not be ratified by three-fourths of the States on or before the last day of December, eighteen hundred and ninety, then the first section hereof shall take effect and be in force at the expiration of ten years from such ratification ; and the assent of any State to this article shall not be rescinded nor reversed.

SEC. 4. Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

THE FIRST VOTE.

The first vote in relation to the Amendment in either form to be found recorded in the journals of Congress, was taken in the Senate about ten o'clock Saturday night, March 2, 1889, the dying hours of the Fiftieth Congress. Senator Blair, who had long and faithfully labored to secure unanimous consent for its consideration, at that time spoke as follows :

I ask the unanimous consent of the Senate that the joint resolution (S. R. 12) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States in relation to the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic liquors be now considered. Before the question is put as to there being objection. I ask unanimous consent to say that this proposition has been pending in Congress for fourteen years. It has been twice favorably reported by committees of the Senate in different Congresses. I do not now ask the Senate to proceed to consider the joint resolution by debating it, but I would like the report to be read, which is brief, and that

there be a vote. I desire a record upon the subject, and I think it is not too much to ask that this great subject may have at least ten minutes' consideration out of fourteen years' time. I hope no Senator will object."

The question being put, "Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?" Senator Harris, from Tennessee, objected. Senator Blair thereupon moved its consideration, and asked that the yeas and nays be recorded. This was ordered and the roll called, which resulted in yeas, *thirteen*; nays, *thirty-three*. Thirty Senators were either absent or paired. So the motion was not agreed to.

Those voting to consider were Messrs. Blair, New Hampshire; Bowen, Colorado; Dawes, Massachusetts; Dolph, Oregon; Frye, Maine; Hawley, Connecticut; Jones, Nevada; Mitchell, Oregon; Palmer, Michigan; Platt, Connecticut; Quay, Pennsylvania; Sawyer, Wisconsin, and Stockbridge, Michigan, all Republicans.

Those voting against consideration were Messrs. Blodgett, New Jersey; Brown, Georgia; Butler, South Carolina; Call, Florida; *Cameron*, Pennsylvania; Coke, Texas; *Cullom*, Illinois; Daniel, Virginia; *Evarts*, New York; Faulkner, West Virginia; George, Mississippi; Gorman, Maryland; Gray, Delaware; Hampton, South Carolina; Harris, Tennessee; *Hiscock*, New York; *Ingalls*, Kansas; Jones, Arkansas; Kenna, West Virginia; McPherson, New Jersey; Morgan, Alabama; *Morrill*, Vermont; Pasco, Florida; Payne, Ohio; Ransom, North Carolina; Reagan, Texas; *Riddleberger*, Virginia; *Sabin*, Minnesota; Saulsbury, Delaware; *Stewart*, Nevada; Turpie, Indiana; Vest, Missouri and Walthall, Mississippi—twenty-four民主派 and nine Republicans. (Names of Republicans printed in italics.)

Of the absent or paired Senators, at least Messrs. Allison, Iowa; Chace, Rhode Island; Edmunds, Vermont; Hale, Maine; Hoar, Massachusetts; Manderson, Nebraska; Teller, Colorado; and Wilson, Iowa,—Republicans—would have voted *yea* had they been present or not paired.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY ADDRESS.

BY AARON M. POWELL.

District Secretary of the National Temperance Society.

[Extract from his address before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, the address being incorporated as a part of the first favorable report on the Amendment in its present form. The first part was in advocacy of a National Commission of Inquiry concerning the alcoholic liquor traffic.]

Permit me now to say something on the other measure which is before you, for a national prohibitory constitutional amendment, and the reasons why those whom I represent of the National Temperance Society, and I may say of all the other temperance bodies, feel that such a measure is called for at this time.

The text of the joint resolution, as it is before you, was revised before it came to Washington by the official representatives of the leading temperance organizations in the country. It was revised and indorsed by the official head of the Good Templars, the largest temperance organization in the world, I believe, not excepting the great organization of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, by whom also it was indorsed ; by the official head of the Sons of Temperance, another great body, very numerous ; by the then chairman of the National Prohibitory Party committee, a very severe critic of measures ; it has been indorsed by the board of managers of the National Temperance Society, and the memorials which are before you, as I happen personally to know, represent all the leading State temperance organizations of both men and women in this country.

I speak of this very general indorsement of the text of the joint resolution as it is before you, that you may have before your minds the significance of such a measure, which has united such a body of people, including all the opponents of the liquor traffic organized in the various forms for active effort which they represent.

The recent action of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Kansas appealed cases, has opened the way as never before for the beginning of what must be finally consummated in dealing with the liquor traffic before the question can be ultimately settled. It is impossible for the State alone and unaided in the exercise of the police power vested in it as defined by the Supreme Court, entirely to control the liquor traffic. It may do certain things in its State capacity, as Iowa, Maine, and Kansas are now doing, presenting to the world the remarkable benefits, even with the limitations under which they labor, of the prohibitory policy as against the license method of dealing with the drink traffic. But after the State has exhausted its resources under its inherent police power, then, as in Maine at the present time, comes up the right of a Maine liquor dealer to import liquors from foreign countries, and to come under the shield of the United States Government in the exercise of its authority, and in defiance of the State law go on with the sale of what the State law absolutely forbids.

Maine has gone about as far as Maine can go ; Iowa has gone about as far as Iowa can go ; Kansas has gone about as far as it is practicable for a State to go until the National Government co-operates with the States in the legitimate exercise of the police power inherent in the people for their self-preservation.

Therefore, the time has come for Congress to consider this proposition on its merits, as related closely to the welfare of the nation, as well as the States. In New Hampshire, for instance, it would be impossible for the State at present to control, as it is impossible for Maine to control, the matter of liquor transportation. I had the privilege, on one occasion, with a distinguished citizen of Portland, Me., of visiting the store-room then in use, under the city hall, for seized liquors under the Maine law, where, on the order of the court, periodically, they were destroyed. I saw what would

have grieved a bummer and a drinker, but gave me great pleasure—the bungs knocked out of various beer barrels and the heads broken off of various bottles, and the liquors poured down the immense sewer, to run off into the Portland Harbor ; but there was this peculiarity, that right across the line, in the State which your honorable chairman represents here, there is an immense brewery, and all those barrels, if I remember aright, were from a New Hampshire brewery.

The difficulty of transportation comes in to afflict Maine in a way which it is possible for the National Government only to remove ; and what is true of Maine and New Hampshire would be true of Iowa and Wisconsin. Iowa will be troubled as long as Wisconsin keeps its breweries in operation at Milwaukee, and takes from Sioux City that acquitted (but, as many people believe, guilty,) brewer, and sets him up in business in Wisconsin to send back again into Iowa, by one subterfuge and another, possibly, the beer which he may make in Wisconsin, but may not make longer in Iowa.

At any rate, the United States Government is alone competent to control thoroughly the question of liquor transportation. Your recent legislation with regard to interstate commerce should be so extended as to control liquor transportation in the interest of the States which are trying the prohibition policy as against license.

Then, again, there is the liquor exportation, which is one of the greatest scandals of the present time in the name of what are called Christian countries, such as America and Great Britain, especially, and including Germany, Holland, and France. One of the greatest possible scandals in the name of what are called civilized and Christian countries, is the flooding of Africa with intoxicating beverages, which are sweeping away the native races of Africa and the western Pacific islands almost as if a fire of destruction were running through among those native people. And yet for the sake of the paltry gain to a few people, the distillers of New England rum, and the manufacturers of these intoxicants, these great countries permit that exportation to go on to the ruin of the native races. What are the missionary efforts which are put forth by Christian people amounting to, relatively, in the face of such a neutralizing influence as is carried to those countries by these intoxicants which are sent forth ? There were sent from America over 922,000 gallons, I think, in 1885. I have not all the figures here, but they are of very considerable magnitude, and they impose, gentlemen, a grave responsibility upon the Congress of the United States to devise some way by which that liquor exportation may be suppressed.

It needs to be borne in mind, as it seems to me, in connection with this liquor problem, more fully than it has been hitherto, that our Government is a dual government ; that we are citizens both of the United States, and citizens of our respective States, and that there is to be a relation of co-operation rather than antagonism in such grave and important legislative interests as are involved in dealing with the liquor traffic, when the

States, as I have stated, are quite inadequate to deal alone effectively with the subject. It is said that prohibition does not prohibit; but prohibition has not yet had a chance to prohibit, and largely because of the attitude of the Government of the United States on the subject, perpetuating the drink interest under the influence of the internal revenue bribe, practically by its many million bribery fund applied to the conscience of the nation. Strike off, as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union are asking you to do, the internal revenue tax from the drink, and an immense obstacle would be taken out of the way of a reasonable settlement of this question, as many of us believe.

I wish to present another reason which is of a practical character why the adoption of the joint resolution and relegating it to the States for their ratification would be of value. I would take the liquor question out of partisan politics. You know enough about the local campaigns in the several States you represent to know how extremely critical this very troublesome question is becoming just now in political life. I was reminded in getting out of my sleeping-car yesterday in coming to Washington, and entering one of the street-cars of this city in the midst of a bevy of young, bright, intelligent-looking colored children, with their hands full of school books, how momentous was the change in the history of Washington, running back only a very few years within the memory of you, gentlemen, who are here, when the children of that race in this very capital city of the nation were subjects for the auction block. They are not now, thank God. The slavery question which divided the great parties is gone and settled practically. The legacy it left behind, unhappily is not disposed of yet. Here is a not less important issue in the politics of to-day. How is that to be settled? Precisely by the method we propose to you to adopt, which was followed in dealing with the question of slavery—the adoption of a constitutional amendment which made it impracticable for any State hereafter to resurrect slavery and re-establish it on its soil. So the drink question, as some of us believe, can never be settled until it is settled right, and the verdict of the nation recorded on this subject as it has been recorded on the other in the literal text of the Constitution of the United States.

I believe, gentlemen, that you will agree with me that there are perils confronting the future of this Republic which will warrant the action we ask at your hands. For instance, one of your colleagues, whom I do not see present, though I believe he is a member of your committee (Senator Palmer), has called your attention and that of the country, to the great danger from foreign immigration, and has proposed some wholesome limitations. Why this danger? Chiefly because the hordes that come into New York and the other ports, covering the decks of our steamers, are people who come from an entirely different social environment from that of the people of Iowa, and of this country generally, with regard to the use of strong drink. They come here accustomed to the drinking habits, uneducated with regard to self-control. They come here ignorant of the forms of

our Government. They come here to be, as in Chicago, the dupes and victims of designing demagogues, and finally to jeopardize the city and the peace of the country.

These emigrants from foreign countries are perilous because we perpetuate the saloon system in the nation. You will remember how the testimony in the Chicago trials pointed to the saloons as the headquarters of the anarchists, how their conspiracies were generated there, how they met there to plot and plan against the peace of the city and the country. What is true of Chicago in that respect, is true of other of our great cities. It seems to me that it is the part of wisdom to recognize the danger thus involved.

Let me also ask your attention for a moment to the position of the millions of colored people at the South—ignorant, easily duped, as recently at Atlanta by an infamous forgery, putting, as they thought, the words of Lincoln before them, as opposed to the abolition of saloons in Atlanta, crowding like a flock of sheep, as one of your Senatorial associates told me not long ago, under the lead of the liquor demagogues to vote back again the saloons into Atlanta. The ignorant millions of colored citizens in the South need national action, conjointly with the States, to protect them from the saloon ravages. Again, look at the present and increasing perils of great cities. Wendell Phillips used to say that the Tories of England look across the Atlantic and ask us to show them a well-governed city, and we can not do it. Practically it is as true to-day as when Mr. Phillips used to say it. What is the danger and what is the trouble? It is not wholly, but very largely, due to the presence of the saloon system in those cities. Ten thousand saloons, or thereabouts, in New York, ten thousand of those places which the *London Times* fitly characterized, speaking of their counterparts in London, as so many political club-houses; ten thousand centers of corruption, conspiracy, anarchy, and immorality.

It seems to those whom I represent that in bringing this question before you, gentlemen, we bring to you something that is great in its magnitude as a commercial interest, greater still in importance in its moral aspect as affecting the American home, greater still as affecting the stability and the perpetuity of republican institutions in this country. Day before yesterday I was an interested spectator, with many others, in that magnificently stone-arched Assembly chamber at Albany, and many eyes were turned toward the ceiling, querying whether or not during the short session that magnificent piece of stone-work was to fall down and crush the honorable members of the legislature sitting under it. But they have another stone there, figuratively; a stone upon which if they fall they are in imminent danger of being broken, and if it falls upon them they are in greater danger still of being ground to powder.

That stone is the liquor traffic. That stone is also here, gentlemen, confronting the Congress of the United States.

The representative of the Brewers' Association, to whom I referred in

the beginning of my remarks, boasted once that a certain number of members of the other House who had voted for a suspension of the rules to pass the Commission of Inquiry bill, and who on another occasion had voted to create the House Select Committee on the Alcoholic Liquor Traffic, had lost their elections to Congress subsequently, on account of those votes. They certainly lost their elections, and I dare say what he said was true, for the brewers and their allies were very active in securing their defeat ; but I believe that the time is not far distant when the men who refuse to heed the requests of the large number of petitioners we represent, will be more in danger of losing their elections than the men who vote as we ask in these legislative halls.

But, however that may be, in closing, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, let me beg of you to remember that this is your opportunity to lift this question to a higher level of thought ; that is the real statesmanship which is needed in the interest of humanity, in the interest of the Republic. Emerson somewhere says that God links together opportunity and responsibility. The opportunity not only is yours but the responsibility is yours. In the name of the petitioners I beg of you to hear and heed their request for the adoption of both these measures.

NATIONAL W. C. T. U. ARGUMENT.

BY ADA M. BITTENBENDER.

[Submitted to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in behalf of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and incorporated as a part of the first favorable report on the Amendment in its present form.]

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which, as superintendent of legislation and petitions, I have the honor to represent, agrees with you, Mr. Chairman, that "the real citadel of the rum curse is the National Constitution." Therefore, the 250,000 women of our Republic, who are banded together in this temperance organization, have petitioned Congress for submission of such an amendment to the Constitution as shall, when ratified, break up this defense and turn the national Government into a home-protection fortress. The Blair joint resolution (S. R. 12), which was introduced in the Senate December 12, 1887, and referred to this committee, meets with our approval in providing as follows :

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each house concurring therein), That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States as provided in the Constitution :

"ARTICLE—SECTION I. The manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage shall be, and

hereby is, forever prohibited in the United States, and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation."

We realize the inefficacy of State prohibitory laws while the General Government, having exclusive jurisdiction over importation and interstate transportation, recognizes alcoholic beverages as legitimate subjects of commerce. And while we do not propose to lessen our efforts for prohibition by State legislation, we do intend henceforth to work with greater zeal for this amendment to the National Constitution.

We believe alcoholic intemperance to be the greatest evil known, and the alcoholic drink traffic the greatest curse of humanity. We believe the traffic costs our Government, directly and indirectly—for outlay in drink, losses to employers and employes in time wasted, non-productive work by men in the liquor trades, value of grain and fruits destroyed in breweries and distilleries, interest on capital employed in the manufacture and sale, amounts paid to support paupers, criminals, insane, and idiots, made such by drink, charity made necessary by drink, medical attendance and medicine in sickness caused by drink, extra police, court expenses, etc.—at least \$2,000,000,000 annually. "In return for this," as says Rev. T. F. Parker, who has made a close study of the subject, "the nation receives 500 murders, 500 suicides, 100,000 criminals, 200,000 paupers, 60,000 deaths from drunkenness, 600,000 besotted drunkards, 600,000 moderate drinkers who will be sots ten years hence, 500,000 homes destroyed, 1,000,000 children worse than orphaned. And if the country should be searched from center to circumference, it would be impossible to find any good resulting from the traffic or a single reason why it should exist longer."

The amount returned in tax and license money is such a small fraction of the pecuniary loss sustained in consequence of the traffic's existence, it sinks nearly to insignificance; and when compared with the inexpressibly vast amount of grief, physical pain, and soul-blighting caused, it has no weight whatever.

If the evils and losses resulting from the drink traffic are not so great as claimed by temperance advocates, the advocates of the system, self-misnamed "friends of personal liberty," have it within their power to cause the truth to be known by favoring the passage of the bill for appointment of an impartial commission to investigate the whole matter, the passage of which has been for fifteen years continuously petitioned for by the temperance people of our country, and at this session of Congress, passed the Senate for the seventh time, only to be again pigeon-holed in committee-room of the House of Representatives at the behest of certain agents of the traffic, who boldly declare the fact.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union rejoices that the resolution has been changed from that introduced in former Congresses, so as to include fermented liquors. This change is in harmony with all State prohibitory legislation. We believe the use of beer to be as injurious in its effects as

that of distilled liquors. That it is so on the human system the observations of life insurance companies, *who make risks in human life a business*, confirm. Colonel Greene, president of the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, in a communication on this subject, to *The Voice*, in September, 1884, said :

"I protest against the notion so prevalent and so industriously urged that beer is harmless, and a desirable substitute for the more concentrated liquors. What beer may be and what it may do in other countries and climates I do not know from observation. That in this country and climate its use is an evil, only less than the use of whisky, if less on the whole, and that its effect is only longer delayed, not so immediately and obviously bad, its incidents not so repulsive, but destructive in the end, I have seen abundant proof. In one of our largest cities, containing a great population of beer drinkers, I had occasion to note the deaths among a large group of persons whose habits, in their own eyes and in those of their friends and physicians, were temperate ; but they were habitual users of beer. When the observation began they were, upon the average, something under middle age, and they were, of course, selected lives. For two or three years there was nothing very remarkable to be noted among this group. Presently death began to strike it, and, until it had dwindled to a fraction of its original proportions, the mortality in it was astounding in extent, and still more remarkable in the manifest identity of cause and mode. There was no mistaking it ; the history was almost invariable ; robust, apparent health, full muscles, a fair outside, increasing weight, florid face ; then a touch of cold or a sniff of malaria, and instantly some acute disease, with almost invariably typhoid symptoms, was in violent action, and in ten days, or less, ended it. It was as if the system had been kept fair outside, while within it was eaten to a shell ; and at the first touch of disease there was utter collapse ; every fiber was poisoned and weak. And this, in its main features, varying of course in degree, has been my observation of beer drinking, everywhere. It is peculiarly deceptive at first ; it is thoroughly destructive at the last."

The presidents of seven other leading life insurance companies indorsed the above as being similar to their own observations in letters to *The Voice*, published in October, 1884, viz. : Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, Home Life Insurance Company, United States Life Insurance Company, Southern Mutual Life Insurance Company (Kentucky), State Mutual Life Assurance Company, Pennsylvania Mutual Life Insurance Company, and the National Life Insurance Company. The secretary of the Hartford Life and Annuity Insurance Company also wrote to the same effect.

Nearly all medical writers of to-day record similar observations in regard to the use of beer, and, in effect, say : It is alcohol in liquors, either the fermented or distilled, which does the damage—a less percentage in the fermented, but when enough of either drink has been taken, containing the same amount of alcohol, the like alcoholic effect uniformly follows. Among those of this country expressing such opinion, we would cite Dr. William Hargreaves, author of "Alcohol and Man" and "Alcohol and Science"; Dr. Daniel Dorchester, author of "The Liquor Problem"; Dr. Thomas Sewell, whose plates, representing some of the morbid changes which take place in the stomach from alcoholic intemperance, condense to a few pages

the written record of volumes ; Dr. N. S. Davis, professor of practical and clinical medicine in the Northwestern University ; Dr. A. B. Palmer, professor of pathology and practice in the University of Michigan ; Dr. William Pepper, of the University of Pennsylvania, the last three being authors of noted works on practice of medicine.

The medical profession to-day generally proclaim against the self-prescribed medicinal use of alcohol, and as a beverage ; and many physicians have entirely discarded its use in the treatment of disease. They class it among poisons, and as having no "definite food value." The International Medical Congress, the highest medical body in the world, during its session at Philadelphia in September, 1876, declared as follows :

"First. Alcohol is not shown to have a definite food value by any of the usual methods of chemical analysis or physiological investigation.

"Second. Its use as a medicine is chiefly as a cardiac (relating to the heart) stimulant, and often admits of substitution.

"Third. As a medicine it is not well fitted for self prescription by the laity, and the medical profession is not accountable for such administration or for the enormous evils resulting therefrom."

The declaration, signed by Edward Delafield, M. D., president College of Physicians and Surgeons, and of Roosevelt Hospital ; C. R. Agnew, M. D., ex-president Medical Society of the State of New York ; Stephen Smith, M. D., surgeon Bellevue Hospital, commissioner of health, and president American Health Association, and one hundred and twenty others of the most eminent physicians of New York and vicinity, is also to the point and worthy of consideration. It reads as follows :

"(1) In view of the alarming prevalence and ill effects of intemperance, with which none are so familiar as members of the medical profession, and which have called forth from eminent English physicians the voice of warning to the people of Great Britain concerning the use of alcoholic beverages, we, the undersigned, members of the medical profession of New York and vicinity, unite in the declaration that we believe alcohol should be classed with other powerful drugs ; that when prescribed medicinally it should be with conscientious caution and a sense of grave responsibility.

"(2) We are of opinion that the use of alcoholic liquor as a beverage is productive of a large amount of physical disease ; that it entails diseased appetites upon offspring ; and that it is the cause of a large percentage of the crime and pauperism of our cities and country.

"(3) We would welcome any judicious and effective legislation, state and national, which should seek to confine the traffic in alcohol to the legitimate purposes of medical and other sciences, art, and mechanism."

The celebrated opinion of the United States Supreme Court, in the Kansas liquor cases, determined two of the most vexed questions pertinent to this discussion : the one as to the right of manufacturing alcoholics for personal use, and the other as to the right of compensation for diminution in the value of property resulting from outlawing the liquor business. With your permission I will incorporate a portion of this opinion in my argument. As to the first (123 U. S., 623) the court, in part, said :

"It is, however, contended that although the State may prohibit the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for sale or barter within her limits for general use as a beverage, 'no convention or legislature has the right, under our form of government, to prohibit any citizen from manufacturing for his own use, or for export, or storage, any article of food or drink not endangering or affecting the rights of others.' The argument made in support of the first branch of this proposition, briefly stated, is, that in the implied compact between the State and the citizen certain rights are reserved by the latter, which are guaranteed by the constitutional provision protecting persons against being deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and with which the State can not interfere; that among those rights is that of manufacturing for one's use either food or drink; and that while, according to the doctrines of the commune, the State may control the tastes, appetites, habits, dress, food, and drink of the people, our system of government, based upon the individuality and intelligence of the citizen, does not claim to control him, except as to his conduct to others, leaving him the sole judge as to all that only affects himself.

"It will be observed that the proposition, and the argument made in support of it, equally concede that the right to manufacture drink for one's personal use is subject to the condition that such manufacture does not endanger or affect the rights of others. If such manufacture does prejudicially affect the rights and interests of the community, it follows from the very premises stated that society has the power to protect itself, by legislation, against the injurious consequences of that business. As was said in *Munn v. Illinois* (94 U. S., 124), while power does not exist with the whole people to control rights that are purely and exclusively private, government may require 'each citizen so to conduct himself, and so to use his own property, as not unnecessarily to injure another.'

"But by whom, or by what authority, is it to be determined whether the manufacture of particular articles of drink, either for general use or for the personal use of the maker, will injuriously affect the public? Power to determine such questions, so as to bind all, must exist somewhere, else society will be at the mercy of the few who, regarding only their own appetites or passions, may be willing to imperil the peace and security of the many, provided only they are permitted to do as they please. Under our system that power is lodged with the legislative branch of the Government. It belongs to that department to exert what are known as the police powers of the State, and to determine primarily what measures are appropriate or needful for the protection of the public morals, the public health, or the public safety. * * *

"Keeping in view these principles, as governing the relations of the judicial and legislative departments of government with each other, it is difficult to perceive any ground for the judiciary to declare that the prohibition by Kansas of the manufacture or sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors for general use there as a beverage, is not fairly adapted to the end of protecting the community against the evils which confessedly result from the excessive use of ardent spirits. There is no justification for holding that the State, under the guise merely of police regulations, is here aiming to deprive the citizen of his constitutional rights; for we can not shut out of view the fact, within the knowledge of all, that the public health, the public morals, and the public safety may be endangered by the general use of intoxicating drinks; nor the fact, established by statistics accessible to every one, that the idleness, disorder, pauperism, and crime existing in the country are, in some degree at least, traceable to this evil. If, therefore, a State decrees the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale, within her limits, of intoxicating liquors for other than medical, scientific, and

manufacturing purposes, to be necessary to the peace and security of society, the courts can not, without usurping legislative functions, override the will of the people as thus expressed by their chosen representatives. * * *

"And so if, in the judgment of the legislature, the manufacture of intoxicating liquors for the maker's own use as a beverage would tend to cripple, if it did not defeat, the effect to guard the community against the evils attending the excessive use of such liquors, it is not for the courts, upon their views as to what is best and safest for the community, to disregard the legislative determination of that question. So far from such a regulation having no relation to the general end sought to be accomplished, the entire scheme of prohibition as embodied in the constitution and laws of Kansas might fail if the right of each citizen to manufacture intoxicating liquors for his own use as a beverage were recognized. Such a right does not inhere in citizenship. Nor can it be said that government interferes with or impairs any one's constitutional rights of liberty or of property when it determines that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks for general or individual use as a beverage are, or may become, hurtful to society and constitute, therefore, a business in which no one may lawfully engage. Those rights are best secured, in our government, by the observance upon the part of all of such regulations as are established by competent authority to promote the common good. No one may rightfully do that which the law-making power upon reasonable grounds declares to be prejudicial to the general welfare."

In determining the second of these vexed questions, the court said (123 U. S., 664) :

"If we do not misapprehend the position of defendants, it is contended that as the primary and principal use of beer is as a beverage ; as their respective breweries were erected when it was lawful to engage in the manufacture of beer for every purpose—as such establishments will become of no value as property or, at least, will be materially diminished in value if not employed in the manufacture of beer for every purpose, the prohibition upon their being so employed is in effect a taking of property for public use without compensation, and depriving the citizen of his property without due process of law. In other words, although the State, in the exercise of her police powers, may lawfully prohibit the manufacture and sale within her limits of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage, legislation having that object in view can not be enforced against those who at the time happen to own property, the chief value of which consists in its fitness for such manufacturing purposes, unless compensation is first made for the diminution in the value of their property, resulting from such prohibitory enactments.

"This interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment is inadmissible. It can not be supposed that the State intended, by adopting that amendment, to impose restraints upon the exercise of their powers for the protection of the safety, health, or morals of the community. In respect to contracts the obligations of which are protected against hostile State legislation, this court in *Butchers' Union Co. v. Crescent City Co.*, 111 U. S., 751, said that the State could not by any contract limit the exercise of her power to the prejudice of the public health and the public morals. So, in *Stone v. Mississippi*, 101 U. S., 816, where the Constitution was invoked against the repeal by the State of a charter granted to a private corporation to conduct a lottery, and for which that corporation paid to the State a valuable consideration in money, the court said : 'No legislature can bargain away the public health or the public morals. The people themselves can not do it,

much less their servants. Government is organized with a view to their preservation, and can not divest itself of the power to provide for them.' Again, in *New Orleans Gas Co. v. Louisiana Light Co.*, 115 U. S., 650, 672 : 'The constitutional prohibition upon State laws impairing the obligation of contracts does not restrict the power of the State to protect the public health, the public morals, or the public safety, as the one or the other may be involved in the execution of such contracts. Rights and privileges arising from contracts with a State are subject to regulations for the protection of the public health, the public morals, and the public safety, in the same sense and to the same extent as are all contracts and all property, whether owned by persons or corporations.'

"The principle that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law was embodied, in substance, in the constitution of nearly all, if not all, of the States at the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment; and it has never been regarded as incompatible with the principle equally vital, because essential to the peace and safety of society, that all property in this country is held under the implied obligation that the owner's use of it shall not be injurious to the community. * *

"As already stated, the present case must be governed by principles that do not involve the power of eminent domain, in the exercise of which property may not be taken for public use without compensation. A prohibition simply upon the use of property for purposes that are declared by valid legislation to be injurious to the health, morals, or safety to the community can not in any just sense be deemed a taking or an appropriation of property for the public benefit. Such legislation does not disturb the owner in the control or use of his property for lawful purposes, nor restrict his right to dispose of it; but is only a declaration by the State that its use by any one for certain forbidden purposes, is prejudicial to the public interests. * * * The power which the States have of prohibiting such use by individuals of their property as will be prejudicial to the health, the morals, or the safety of the public is not, and consistently with the existence and safety of organized society can not be, burdened with the condition that the State must compensate such individual owners for pecuniary losses they may sustain by reason of their not being permitted, by a noxious use of their property, to inflict injury upon the community. The exercise of the police power by the destruction of property which is itself a public nuisance, or the prohibition of its use in a particular way, whereby its value becomes depreciated, is very different from taking property for public use or from depriving a person of his property without due process of law. In the one case a nuisance only is abated; in the other unoffending property is taken away from an innocent owner.

"It is true that when the defendants in these cases purchased or erected their breweries the laws of the State did not forbid the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. But the State did not thereby give any assurance or come under an obligation that its legislation upon that subject would remain unchanged. Indeed, as was said in *Stone v. Mississippi*, 101 U. S., the supervision of the public health and the public morals is a governmental power, 'continuing in its nature,' and 'to be dealt with as the special exigencies of the moment may require,' and that 'for this purpose the largest legislative discretion is allowed, and the discretion can not be parted with, any more than the power itself.' So in *Beer Co. v. Massachusetts*, 97 U. S., 32: 'If the public safety or the public morals require the discontinuance of any manufacture or traffic, the hand of the legislature can not be stayed from providing for its discontinuance by any incidental inconvenience which individuals or corporations may suffer.'"

These decisions have added considerable impetus to the temperance movement.

The decision of the same court in the Iowa liquor transportation case, *Bowman v. the Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company*, delivered March 19, 1888, is equally to the point, the effect of which has been and will continue to be, to cause temperance workers to exert more energy for this National Amendment until it shall have become embodied in the supreme law. In this case the court said:

"For the purpose of protecting its people against the evils of intemperance, it has the right to prohibit the manufacture within its limits of intoxicating liquors; it may also prohibit all domestic commerce in them between its own inhabitants, whether the articles are introduced from other states or from foreign countries; it may punish those who sell them in violation of its laws; it may adopt any measures tending, even indirectly and remotely, to make the policy effective, until it passes the line of power delegated to Congress under the Constitution. It can not, without the consent of Congress, expressed or implied, regulate commerce between its people and those of the other States of the Union in order to effect its end, however desirable such a regulation might be. * * * The power to regulate or forbid the sale of a commodity after it has been brought into the State, does not carry with it the right and power to prevent its introduction by transportation from another State."

Under this decision should every State and Territory but one prohibit the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, within their respective borders, enough could be manufactured in that one to satisfy the unnatural thirst of this entire land. And if in time such prohibition should become the universal policy of our country, as far as State and Territorial legislation could make it, through importation and interstate transportation the demand could still be supplied, our grains and fruits being exported to be returned manufactured into these body and soul corrupting beverages, and carried to consumers, protected, if needs be, by the armies of the nation. Therefore, to put an end to this drink traffic without the assistance of national action, is an impossibility.

It is asked, "May not the strong hand of prohibition be made to grasp the commodity as it reaches its destination and prevent its sale?" The United States Supreme Court in the Iowa case above cited, while disclaiming the expression of an opinion on this point because the question did not arise in the case, interlards as follows, which may be safely taken as what would be its opinion if called upon to deliver:

"It is easier to think that the right of importation from abroad and of transportation from one State to another includes, by necessary implication, the right of the importer to sell in unbroken packages at the place where the transit terminates; for the very purpose and motive of that branch of commerce which consists in transportation is that other and consequent act of commerce which consists in the sale and exchange of the commodities transported. Such, indeed, was the point decided in the case of *Brown v. Maryland*, 12 Wheat, 419, as to foreign commerce, with the express statement, in the opinion of Chief Justice Marshall, that the conclusion would be the same in a case of commerce among the States."

The effect of this decision was set forth in the dissenting opinion signed by Chief Justice Waite and Associate Justices Harlan and Gray, in which they said :

"If, therefore, as the court now decides, the Constitution gives the right to transport intoxicating liquors into Iowa from another State, and if that right carries with it as one of its essential ingredients authority in the consignee to sell or exchange such articles after they are so brought in and while in his possession in the original packages, it is manifest that the regulation forbidding sales of intoxicating liquors within the State for other than medicinal, mechanical, culinary, or sacramental purposes, and then only under a permit from a board of supervisors, will be of little practical value. In this view, any one, even a citizen of Iowa, desiring to sell intoxicating liquors in that State, need only arrange to have them delivered to him from some point in another State in packages of varying sizes, as may suit customers. Or he may erect his manufacturing establishment or warehouse just across the Iowa line, in some State having a different public policy, and thence with wagons transport liquors into Iowa in original packages. If the State arraigns him for a violation of her laws, he may claim—and under the principles of the present decision it may become difficult to dispute the claim—that although such laws were enacted solely to protect the health and morals of the people and to promote peace and good order among them, and although they are fairly adapted to accomplish those objects, yet the Constitution of the United States, without any action on the part of Congress, secures to him the right to bring or receive from other States intoxicating liquors, in original packages and to sell them, while held by him in such packages, to all choosing to buy them."

So, then, we would repeat with emphasis our belief in the impossibility of satisfactorily controlling this accursed business without the help of national constitutional prohibition.

This prohibitory amendment to the National Constitution proposes to place the General Government in harmony with, instead of antagonistic to, enlightened State legislation for suppression of this gigantic evil—to *re-inforce* instead of *nullifying* such legislation under the plea that alcoholic drinks are "merchantable commodities or known articles of commerce, and that, consequently, the Constitution, by the mere grant to Congress of the power to regulate commerce, operates, in the absence of legislation, to establish unrestricted trade among the States of the Union in such commodities or articles." In fact, it proposes to declare, as the will of this great American people, that throughout the nation's domain there shall be no rights of property in that which has been found to be so universally destructive to social happiness and public order.

This amendment is directed against the action of private individuals, as well as against the action of States and the United States. It declares that "the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of all alcoholic liquors, as a beverage, shall be, and hereby is, forever prohibited," etc. It is unlike section 1 of the fourteenth amendment, which prohibits State action only. It is like the thirteenth amendment, being a positive declaration that the thing itself shall not exist. In enforcing the thirteenth amendment, Congress deals with the subject matter. In enforc-

ing this amendment, Congress would have the subject matter to deal with. This is as we would have it. The evil is a national one. The traffic is carried on everywhere. No place and no person of this great nation is free from its polluting influence. How to end its pernicious existence is peculiarly a national question—more of a national question than was slavery, and as much so as is the tariff. And when solved it is proper that the General Government should be intrusted with the duty of carrying out the national will.

The power of Congress thus bestowed would not be exclusive, but State legislation to enforce the amendment would have to yield when in conflict with or repugnant to Congressional legislation.

As regards the uses of alcoholics otherwise than as a beverage, the States would retain the right to exert any power over them that they now possess.

The change proposed would only introduce into the National Constitution provisions of the same general character as those which now confer power on Congress to establish uniform laws respecting bankruptcies, slavery, involuntary servitude, and the like, which are as clearly domestic in their character, as far as State governments are concerned, as is the subject matter of this amendment.

The main argument used against State prohibitory legislation is that prohibition does not prohibit. The quasi-prohibitory legislation of individual States is expected to accomplish that which is impossible. At least by this cry, incessantly kept up, advocates of the saloon system hope longer to stave off consideration of the truth, so well known to you, gentlemen of the committee, that complete legislation prohibiting the nefarious traffic has never been enacted in this country and never will be until legislation takes the form of controlling it from the point of manufacture or place of entering our nation's domain, to the mouth of consumers; and that this can not be done until the national branch of this complex Government, instead of recognizing alcoholic beverages as lawful commerce, and instead of giving them protection and license under its internal revenue laws, shall have united with State branches in legislating for their destruction.

Instead of being a reason for doubting the efficacy of the method, to us it is simply marvelous that, under the antagonism of the National Government, the so-called Prohibition States have succeeded in suppressing the internal traffic in intoxicants to the extent they have. That they have largely succeeded is evident without actual knowledge on the subject, otherwise those engaged in the traffic and their allies would not have assumed the attitude of bitter opposition. As to the degree of suppression and result of the method as a practical remedy for the evils of intemperance, and for promotion of sobriety and morality, take the record of Kansas as shown in the last biennial message of the Governor of that State, delivered to the legislature January 11, 1887, in which he said :

"Three general elections have been held in Kansas since the adoption of the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution. At each of these elections the people have re-affirmed their decision against the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage by electing legislatures pledged to the support of the amendment. At the election in November last, this question was a paramount issue, and again, by an emphatic majority, the sovereign verdict of the people was pronounced against the saloon. * * * A great reform has certainly been accomplished in Kansas. Intemperance is steadily and surely decreasing. In thousands of homes where want and wretchedness and suffering were once familiar guests, plenty, happiness, and contentment now abide. Thousands of wives and children are better clothed and fed than they were when the saloons absorbed the earnings of husbands and fathers. The marvelous material growth of the State during the past six years has been accompanied by an equally marvelous moral progress, and it can be fairly and truthfully asserted that in no portion of the civilized world can a million and a half of people be found who are more temperate than are the people of Kansas. * * *

"The public sentiment of Kansas is overwhelmingly against the liquor traffic. Thousands of men who, a few years ago, opposed prohibition, or doubted whether it was the best method of dealing with the liquor traffic, have seen and frankly acknowledged its beneficent results and its practical success. The temptations with which the open saloon allured the youth of the land to disgrace and destruction; the appetite for liquor, bred and nurtured within its walls by the treating custom; the vice, crime, poverty, suffering, and sorrow of which it is always the fruitful source—all these evil results of the open saloon have been abolished in nearly every town and city in Kansas. There is not an observing man in the State who does not know that a great reform has been accomplished in Kansas by prohibition. There is not a truthful man in the State who will not frankly acknowledge this fact, no matter what his opinions touching the policy of prohibition may have been."

To the same effect is the record of the other States and hundreds of counties and smaller legislative bodies of our land wherein the poisonous drink business is outlawed. The only obstacle to entire success is this national antagonism. This it is which furnishes the means for the wily tempter to beguile, and for the victims, already on the downward road to drunkards' graves, to obtain the liquid fire which sends them on, on to the fatal ending—this it is which begets the lying and other immoral conduct in connection with surreptitiously obtaining this demon of the cup, to which these self-misnamed "friends of personal liberty" point their fingers and of which they accuse prohibition as being the cause. No! no! Not prohibition, but the anti-prohibitory National Government, the *particeps criminis* possible. King Alcohol, must answer the charge for making such immorality possible.

As to why exportation to other countries should cease, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I will make use of the following forcible reason given in your great work, "The Temperance Movement: or The Conflict between Man and Alcohol":

"So far as the exportation to other countries is concerned, while I do not say that it could not still be carried on without great evil to our own people, aside from the waste of material and the perversion of capital and labor from useful purposes, yet to continue to poison mankind at large with

what we had prohibited to ourselves would be like peddling off to our neighbors the contaminated and fatal garments which we might have had left after the small-pox or yellow-fever had run through our own family."

We believe a sufficient number of the people of this National commonwealth are asking in their sovereign capacity for the submission of such an amendment, to warrant compliance. For many years has this asking been going on. The only effect of longer denial will be to send the question to the ballot-box, where representatives of the people are made and unmade.

The adherents of King Alcohol are congratulating themselves on preventing temperance legislation by Congress. This is seen in the report made to the United States Brewers' Association by Louis Schade, Attorney for the Association and widely known as its "Congressional manipulator," at the twenty-eighth annual convention, held at St. Paul, the 30th and 31st of May, 1888. In this report, if correctly published in *The Brewers' Journal*, Mr. Schade said:

"During the present year nothing of a legislative character has occurred at the Capitol in any way injurious to the brewing trade. * * * Though Miss Willard and a whole battalion of female Prohibitionists made fervent appeals before the Senate District of Columbia Committee, the simple reminder from the friends of personal liberty that there was a Presidential election pending sufficed to induce even the Republican members of the committee (with the sole exception of Senator Riddleberger) to vote the bill down unanimously. No prohibition will pass this Congress. Indeed, I can proudly point to the fact that, with the exception of the school-book bill (and we did not fight that), none of the measures of the Prohibitionists have thus far passed the national legislature, and in all likelihood will not hereafter, provided no mistakes are made on our part. Even high-license bills, bell-punch bills, Ohio damage-law bills, and other unjust and illiberal measures have, up to date, found no favor with Congress, no matter whether the Democrats or Republicans had the controlling influence. The reason is very simple. In the first place, the leaders on both sides know that prohibition is not a moral and temperance issue. Then they believe that Congress has no right to meddle with a question clearly belonging to the States. The watchfulness of the friends of personal liberty at the Capitol may also have had its effect. Their appeals to their friends in the States have frequently kept some of the recreant Congressmen at home forever."

This excerpt not only shows such congratulation as alleged, but also that the brewers' attorney proclaims his familiarity with certain knowledge and opinions of leading members of Congress. But, it seems to us, he lost his base when, talking about temperance legislation attempted for the benefit of the District of Columbia, a district over which Congress has exclusive control, he asserted that "they believe that Congress has no right to meddle with a question clearly belonging to the States." It may be that these leaders believe that "prohibition is not a moral and temperance issue"; but a large part of the people of these United States, whom they help to represent, think otherwise. That is, they think that temperance and morality are issues, and that prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic beverages is the *means* for settling these issues and raising our national life to a higher moral and temperance standard.

In conclusion, I would respectfully ask, in the name of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for that which I believe you already have in mind, the return of the Constitutional Prohibition Amendment to the honorable Senate, with your report thereon favoring its submission to the forum of the States, to the end that the supreme law of our land shall become the death-warrant rather than the charter of life of our greatest national curse and the supreme destroyer of "personal liberty."

VIEWS OF SENATOR BLAIR.

[Extracts from chapter XVIII., entitled "National Prohibition," of his great work, "The Temperance Movement: or The Conflict between Man and Alcohol."]

No prohibitory law now exists, or ever has existed in this country. None has existed or does exist, or can exist in any State. No prohibitory law has failed to prohibit, for there can be no prohibitory law taking jurisdiction of the liquor traffic unless it controls it from origin to end—from the point of its manufacture, or wherever it comes within our borders, and so through all the channels of distribution to the stomach of the consumer. Now, it is a fact that from the foundation of the National Government until to-day, it has not only permitted but has fostered and protected the traffic in alcoholic liquors.

The Constitution, as construed, is for the traffic, and the laws are made and enforced in pursuance of the Constitution. * * *

We speak of the National Government and of the State Government. Neither is the Government. Each is a department or branch of the Government, which comprises them both, and by the union of both is itself one. The American people are a unit, a nation, and that people is the great fact behind both State and National or general forms, who create both, each with separate, generally independent, but sometimes concurrent powers. As the people are one people, so the State and the National branches spring not either from the other, but from the same root, and are one tree. Both combined have only the same powers which the English Parliament possesses alone. The powers of government being divided between these National and State branches, there are some things which each can perform fully without the co-operation of the other. There are other things which, from their nature, require the action of the Government itself, as a whole, acting by and through both State and National forms. The one has general jurisdiction of local interests, the other of the interests of individuals and of the States in their larger relations and with other sovereignties. Yet the relation of the individual is direct to each branch of the Government in its proper sphere. This peculiarity may be, in some respects, a weakness, but, on the whole, although it may diminish velocity, it increases strength, and is the very citadel of our liberties. If, then, there be an interest or an evil

which is everywhere and which exists and is felt by each individual and by the people as a whole, in all the States and Territories of the Republic, which is, in short, *national*, that interest or that evil is sure to require the protection, regulation or prohibition of the whole power of the people, exerted through both the State and National divisions of the one Government.

Such an interest, if it be an interest, or such an evil, if it be an evil, is the liquor traffic. * * *

The police power is that under which the traffic in intoxicating drink must be controlled and prohibited, if at all, and it resides in the States. But the States and the people have expressly given to the general Government the right and power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the several States, and with the Indian tribes. The general Government recognizes and protects alcohol as property and as an article of legitimate commerce. As long as any State, domestic or foreign, continues to permit the manufacture of alcohol and the traffic therein, the general government stands pledged to exercise all its powers of legislature, judicature and execution, to protect and facilitate the continued infliction of the curse.

States may do much to rescue their people, and public sentiment everywhere may cry out in its extremity, but as long as the Constitution and laws of the United States guarantee the safe importation and transportation of alcoholic beverages in the original packages through the ports and over the avenues of interstate commerce of this country, the extinction or substantial restraint of the evil is impossible. If the demand did not already exist, local laws and public opinion might, perhaps, suffice, but not now, when every hamlet, and some inmate of almost every house in the whole land, is cursed by unnatural desire. I would not be understood to discourage the efforts to secure prohibitory laws, both constitutional and statutory, in the states. They are indispensable, and even when these efforts fail, or, the laws being enacted, their purpose partially fails, still they constitute the nucleus of that agitation which forms public opinion, and lead gradually up to that universal public judgment which, sooner or later, will amend the Constitution of the country so to prohibit absolutely this baneful traffic everywhere by National law. * * *

Commerce with foreign powers must be regulated by National laws, and there are States and Territories of the United States wherein, if left to themselves, the manufacture and trade would exist, it may be, forever; consequently, under our complex system of government, it would be impracticable to remove the causes of alcoholic intemperance without an amendment to the National laws. Such an amendment of the National Constitution is the proper immediate objective point of all temperance agitation and work. * * *

When the Nation has prohibited the importation, manufacture, transportation, and sale of intoxicating beverages, and that sort of prohibition does not prohibit, it will be ample season to cry out against the efficiency of

enactments which seek to extirpate crime from the land by the removal of its great exciting cause. * * *

The Nation knows every distillery, and taxes its product. * * * What difficulty, then, could the Nation experience in prohibiting and preventing, substantially, the creation and transportation of alcohol for any but medicinal, scientific and other indispensable uses, if the attempt were seriously made? * * * I have no argument with those, if such there be, who are opposed to any legislation against the liquor traffic—with those who would either license it or make it wholly free. Such people, to be consistent, should repeal the whole criminal code and recite the Golden Rule to pirates and snakes. If we are to legislate at all upon the subject, why not aim to ascertain the real nature and full extent of the evil, and then enact laws whose jurisdiction is complete, and whose penalties and prohibitions are commensurate to the end? * * *

Now there is no national law for the removal of the alcoholic evil. On the contrary, we have seen how by guaranteeing the importation and transportation, and permitting the manufacture, the National Constitution is the very citadel of the rum power. * * *

One thing is certain—that the promoters of the traffic must dread a national movement. So long as the Nation is their city of refuge in its territory and its laws, they fear not what man can do unto them. If they are persecuted in one place, as were the early Christians, they flee into another, and wait for the returning tide, which, like the ever-recurrent pressure of the ocean upon Holland, can be excluded only by national dykes. But national prohibition would be the end of the traffic. They instinctively know it, and everywhere cry out, "Take any form but that." * * *

Prohibition is never held to extend beyond those uses which are demonstrably injurious to society. For all necessary and beneficial purposes prohibitory laws permit or license the traffic. * * * During the last three centuries what is known as ardent spirits with us, and the immense and dreadful curses which grow out of their use, have gradually arisen. They have the power of perverting the natural instincts and tastes of both body and mind, and to recreate man into the slave of perverted appetites, having insatiable, consuming, uncontrollable, devilish power. The image of God becomes dangerous to society as well as to himself, whether as a maniac or as a criminal, and it is this *consequence* of the use of intoxicating liquors which the laws have constantly, but imperfectly, undertaken to control for many years; nothing more.

The prohibitory amendment to the National Constitution proposes to extend over the national domain the protection of a constitutional inhibition of the destructive tendencies of liquors when made and used for purposes which have been proved to be detrimental to society, and which many of the States of the Union have endeavored vainly to restrict and destroy. Nothing but a general law can be efficient. That has been demonstrated

by experience. While one State prohibits, another manufactures and encourages. * * *

Thus it appears, *first*, that the evil can only be effectually reached by national legislation, and *second*, that such legislation must be of a *constitutional* character. * * *

Intelligence, conscience and common sense are the foundations of sound public opinion, and they are the agencies which must be relied upon to effect the proposed change in the Constitution of the Nation. It must be based upon the intelligent demand of three-fourths of the States in this Union. How can that public sentiment be created? First, there must be an intelligent apprehension of the extent of the evil to be remedied, and that the Nation *as such* is concerned in it. Second, there must be a practical measure proposed, wise and just and efficient, upon which the efforts of the people can be concentrated. * * * That measure must interfere as little as possible with the internal affairs of the States, leaving to them the enforcement of special laws within their own borders, subject to the general constitutional restriction. * * *

But there is no form in which the appeal can be made but by the submission of an amendment from the national legislature to the States at large, and why should not the opportunity be given and the result left with the people themselves?

The importation of liquors is now the subject of treaty stipulation with France and other countries, but we have the unquestionable right to abrogate these treaties after reasonable notice. * * *

Granted that individuals will manufacture their own poison, yet they must do it in secret and under such difficulties and public reprobation that comparatively small injury could result therefrom. * * * It would be impossible to conceal the manufacture if carried on to any injurious extent. * * *

Nor can there be any valid objection to this legislation based upon the doctrine of State rights, for the Constitution now asserts and exercises the power to substantially control or thwart the police power of the States by rendering nugatory their efforts to regulate and suppress the evil. The police powers of the States are thus really nullified or abridged in a most important—nay, a matter of vital concern. The deadliest foe of social happiness and public order is placed under the protection of the National Constitution, and the State must subordinate its process to the rights of rum, protected by the national power. This amendment proposes to repeal those restrictions upon the rights of States to govern themselves, and substitute provisions in harmony with the tendencies of enlightened State legislation and the interests of society, and thus it proposes to *re-inforce* the police power of the States acting for the public good. This certainly, at the worst, is no greater restriction of the powers of the States than now exists in the Constitution by virtue of the protection given to the liquor interests, against which the States, so many of them, wage war. And it is

difficult to see why an advocate of States' rights should be satisfied with the Constitution as it is, and then complain when it is proposed to change the Constitution so as to give the States still greater power to restrict and control an evil over which but *for* this Constitution the States would have absolute power.

It seems to me that this is a sufficient reply to those who, claiming that they desire to suppress the evil, object to an increase of national power for that purpose. If the real difficulty is that the objector would relieve the liquor traffic of *all* legal disabilities, whether State or National, then this view of States' rights will not be satisfactory. He will then be satisfied with no constitutional amendment which does not destroy all "police power," State or National, to interfere with the evils of alcoholic intemperance. "States' rights" is a term too much abused in these latter days, and honest men should examine well the motives and pretenses of those who appeal to prejudices engendered by controversies which, with their causes, have vanished away. We certainly are a nation to such extent that a vast evil which contaminates the atmosphere of the continent can be assailed with national power, especially when it can be reached successfully in no other way, and the method proposed leaves to the States the execution of the great work if they will perform it in their own self-chosen way.

But I would not fail to urge that there be no National action at the expense of that which otherwise would be done in the States. The two forms of agitation and legislation should go on together, and each as the ally of the other, promoting by their joint action the success of both, fortifying and securing their conquests when made. * * *

The movements of the present time for prohibitory amendments of State constitutions and for statutory prohibition and regulation, including the system of "local option" efforts, are of great importance, especially as the means of temporary restraint, and as the centers of agitation and means of creating enlightened public opinion; but such is the nature and scope of the evil, and such are the relations of the general and special or State governments to each other, that nothing but a movement based upon the national idea, presents a clear prospect of permanent success. The same difficulties arise in all action for the permanent or even temporary suppression of the liquor traffic that does not include aggressive co-operation of the National Government, as those which ruined the country under the Articles of Confederation, and which did not abate until the whole subject of commerce, foreign and between the States, was placed under the control of one sovereign power. The combination of local and national effort is indispensable to the desired end. Neither can prevail without the other; neither can be postponed for the other without harm. Let everybody throw a stone at the liquor traffic, each in his own way, when he is so organized that he can not or will not use prepared ammunition nor shoot with the regulation gun.

But still the fact will remain that to ignore or delay the movement for a prohibitory amendment of the National Constitution, so that it may be

reserved to be a Yorktown rather than a Bunker Hill—that is to say, a crowning rather than a preliminary battle—is to decide to fight as a mass of individuals, or an isolation of States, rather than as a trained army with a general plan of campaign, and a national concentration of organized power for the destruction of an organized national curse.

VIEWS OF OTHER LEADING PROHIBITIONISTS.

[Extracts from their writings or speeches.]

FRANCES E. WILLARD, PRESIDENT WORLD'S AND NATIONAL W. C. T. U.—National Prohibition by a Constitutional Amendment ratified in the State Legislatures, is our only adequate remedy. Anything less, because restricted in its operations, must also be incomplete in its results. The smuggling curse along a National border is the only adequate illustration of the inadequacy of prohibition by States. Nothing can stop it but to bound the area over which Prohibition spreads its beneficent sway by the cold water of the two great oceans, and by their beneficent surroundings to salt down forever and a day this most wholesome legislation yet conceived by the human intellect.

Again, a moment's reflection shows that nothing less than National prohibition can rid us of those outrageous weakeners, the interstate commerce law that introduces intoxicants in "sealed packages" that are most readily *unsealed*, and those unjust and illogical provisions of the internal revenue law that permit the National Government to sell a license inside a prohibition State.

Furthermore, through the enactment of National prohibition we are sure of a "fair count," because in State and National legislatures each man must answer to his own name, and openly vote what he is willing to have go on record. We believe that Ohio, Michigan, and very likely several other States, were lost to us through a false count, and we very naturally seek channels through which we are certain of a true one.

Finally, we believe, as the result of hard-earned experience, that our sacred cause has more to hope for from the higher intelligence of *legislatures* than it has proved likely to receive from the masses of uneducated and alien voters to whose tender mercies State prohibition must be consigned on voting day, with political wire-pullers working against it at every crossroads. Therefore, while willing and glad to work for prohibition in any form, be it Sunday closing, week-day closing, or what not (so that it is always a "thou shalt not" to the saloon), the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is first, last and always, for Senator Blair's Prohibitory Amendment to the National Constitution.

SAMUEL DICKIE, CHAIRMAN NATIONAL PROHIBITION COMMITTEE.—While I believe in State prohibition, I look upon it simply as local option on a somewhat larger scale, and am convinced that this great battle in which you and I are now engaged will never be fought out to a successful conclusion until from the National Capitol an edict shall go forth that nowhere in our broad domain may men put the bottle to their neighbor's lips.

X GENERAL CLINTON B. FISK.—Agitation on this question is the duty of the hour. Let it go on from press, platform and pulpit, in the prayer meetings and at the ballot-box, until every patriot who loves his country, every Christian who loves his God, every philanthropist who loves his

race, every father who loves his child, every son of the Republic will, a marshaled host, uplift the Constitution as a banner of reform, and under its folds march to the ballot-boxes of the land, and under an avalanche of free-men's ballots bury beyond resurrection the American saloon. Then shall our whole Union become the citadel of sobriety, the national name be purged of this great shame, and our glorious banner,

"Whose hues are all of heaven—
Its red the sunset's dye,
The whiteness of the moon-lit cloud,
The blue of morning sky,"

shall be the flag of hope for all mankind as it floats over our sober, free, and happy people.

W. JENNINGS DEMOREST.—As the case stands to-day, our government is a centralized legal drunkard manufactory, sanctioning the crime and protecting the criminal in his murderous policy of poisoning the people for a money consideration paid in advance. What wonder that crime and anarchy pervade the whole community when such demoralizing, dehumanizing practices become the standards of public morality.

As prohibition is the foundation of all law and justice, so prohibition necessarily represents all the phases of equity between individuals and the State. Prohibition, therefore, includes both liberty and coercion. Prohibition and liberty are co-equal, and both together are the foundation and security of our modern civilization. Prohibition, therefore, has no virtue without liberty; liberty is dependent on prohibition, and the virtue of politics is dependent on both.

The prohibition of the liquor traffic through purified politics will be the culmination of one of the most important developments of morals ever inaugurated in the history of the world; and when prohibition is achieved in State and Nation, its transcendent importance will be apparent in the development of a higher and purer civilization.

T. DE WITT TALMAGE, D. D.—First of all, we want an amendment to the Constitution of the United States ratified by three-fourths of the States—an amendment prohibiting the manufacture and the sale of alcoholic liquors in all the States and Territories, except for medicinal, artistic, mechanical, and scientific purposes, and a prohibition of the importation of foreign alcoholic liquors except for the same purposes.

The mere prohibition of the manufacture and the sale of intoxicating liquors in a State, perhaps, may only drive that intoxication and that alcoholic liquor into another State; but let us have National prohibition, and then one-half the iniquity tumbles off into the Atlantic Ocean and the other half of the iniquity tumbles off into the Pacific Ocean—drowned in two oceans of cold water.

We want a National movement, so that the stronger States in the matter can help the weaker States, and so that the country districts can help the dissipated cities. We want a National movement.

Good citizens of America, I do not know how you feel, but I confess that I am tired of paying taxes to fix up the work of these infernal grog-shops that are tossing tens of thousands of people into crime and suffering. Out with them from Brooklyn! Out with them from the United States! I have

proclaimed and now proclaim war for the rest of my life against that abomination. Let us have State prohibition and National prohibition!

The work can be done, and it will be done; but it will not be done until the whole nation wakes up. State prohibition will not accomplish it. It must be National prohibition.

DANIEL DORCHESTER, D. D.—Other giant evils exist, for which we can not ask for prohibition by the Constitution. Other principles are of great practical utility to society, for which we would not think of asking a place in the organic law. Other forms of legislation are in harmony with the highest jurisprudence, but hardly entitled to embodiment in the Constitution. Other principles may be in accord with sound political economy; others vindicated by the best medical science; and others still may be justified and demanded on the ground of philanthropy, none of which, however, can successfully compete for a place in the Constitution.

But a single form of legislation, like prohibition, which combines all these six great advantages; which includes in its beneficent sweep the suppression of the most gigantic evil of the land; which has already demonstrated its superior practical efficiency in this work; which has never failed to be vindicated as just and equitable by the highest courts of law; which has been demonstrated to be in accord with the soundest political economy; which has an impregnable logical basis in the teachings of the most advanced medical science; which is fully in consonance with the purest philanthropy and its efficient handmaid—indorsements representing the highest pinnacle of modern thought, in the most vital relations of civil, scientific, and social life—certainly can not long be denied a place in the Constitution of the State or of the Nation.

The Constitution is the place in which to embody the most essential principles pertaining to the welfare of society. It is a summary of the most vital truths, a covenant of mutual obligations, touching the great interests of government. * * * In a constitutional prohibition of the liquor traffic we have an established standard of right principles exerting its instructive influence upon public sentiment, a beacon of essential truth before our children, illuminating and guiding public thought. There may be fluctuations and recessions in the temperance progress, but the high ideal will still remain to lift men higher in each returning flow of the great tide. The advancing civilization of the century is becoming thoroughly and irreversibly out of joint with drink shops, and can not long dally with these pest-houses of evil. The eye of the age is fixing its gaze upon constitutional prohibition as the goal toward which society is advancing. We shall not reach it at once, but it is the objective point toward which we will struggle.

INDORSEMENTS OF TEMPERANCE SOCIETIES.

NATIONAL WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION (Chicago Convention, 1877).—*Resolved*, That the prohibition of the importation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor is demanded by the spirit of our Christian civilization, and is the true legislative remedy for the evils of intemperance.

NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SOCIETY (Chicago Convention, 1875).—*Resolved*, That the time has arrived more fully to consider the relations of the National Government to, and its responsibility for, the alcoholic liquor traffic; that we hereby ask the Forty-fourth Congress to initiate * * *

and adopt for ratification by the several States of the Union a constitutional amendment which shall make the traffic in alcoholic beverages illegal throughout our national domain.

RIGHT WORTHY GRAND LODGE, I. O. G. T. (Richmond Convention, 1886).—The end for which we aim is to secure the highest, the strongest, and the most permanent prohibition that can possibly be had.

In the States of the American Union, this is realized in State and National Constitutional Prohibition, secured by amendments to the constitutions of the States prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, and an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the importation, the manufacture and the sale of such liquors throughout the entire Nation; the amendments in all the States and in the Nation to be supplemented by legislative enactments to give them force and effect, to be followed by the election of officers who will see to it that these prohibitory enactments are thoroughly enforced.

NATIONAL DIVISION OF SONS OF TEMPERANCE OF NORTH AMERICA.—*Resolved*, That in our opinion the most important legal action to be secured, in order to suppress the sale of intoxicating beverages, is to be found in the enactment of prohibitory amendments of the several States and of the United States.

SUPREME COUNCIL OF TEMPLARS OF HONOR AND TEMPERANCE (After rejoicing over the adoption of Constitutional Prohibition in Rhode Island).—*Resolved*, That we hail this victory as only another indication of the advance in public sentiment, which we hope will, before many years, place our entire land under the banner of National Constitutional Prohibition.

SUPREME COUNCIL OF ROYAL TEMPLARS OF TEMPERANCE (Buffalo Convention, 1889).—*Resolved*, That *the complete suppression* of the drink traffic is the objective point of all our labors, and we will be satisfied with nothing less.

INDORSEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA (Hamilton, O., 1886).—*Resolved*, That we unhesitatingly declare ourselves for the prohibition of the liquor traffic, both State and National, and will labor by our counsels, our prayers and our votes, as God gives us to see the right, for its speedy accomplishment.

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE NORTH (New York, 1888).—*Resolved*, That we call for the aid of State and National Constitutional Amendments for the suppression of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages—confident that a very considerable and respectable portion of American citizens desire to take their cause against the saloon for adjudication before the great tribunal of the sovereign people, whose prerogative it is, in a country like ours, to decide fundamental issues in the last resort.

GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA (Los Angeles, 1888).—*Resolved*, As the sentiment of this Association, representing the Congregational ministers and churches of Southern California, that we favor the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, and we urge upon all persons con-

nected with our churches to use their influence and their vote definitely for the suppression of the saloon, and the accomplishment of local and national prohibition.

NEW HAMPSHIRE M. E. CONFERENCE (Tilton, 1888).—Believing that high-license is not a temperance measure, does not diminish drunkenness, and makes the Government a partner in destroying public virtue, we are determined to make no compromise, and to press the battle until National Constitutional Prohibition is an accomplished fact.

NEBRASKA PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD (Madison, 1888).—We have no faith in compromise, no faith in license, high or low. In the name of God and humanity we demand that the saloon be made an outlaw in the State and in the Nation. We want no fellowship with the "unfruitful works of darkness." We want no blood money to pay our taxes and to educate our children. We want no legal enactment to protect this national nuisance from the vengeance of an outraged people.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE M. E. CHURCH OF KANSAS (1888).—*Resolved* in favor of "the early submission of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the importation or sale of intoxicating liquors, except for medicinal, mechanical or scientific purposes."

JANESVILLE (WIS.) DISTRICT ASSOCIATION OF M. E. CHURCHES (Sharon, 1888).—*Resolved* in favor of National Constitutional Prohibition.

NEW HAMPSHIRE CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION (Dover, 1888).—*Resolved*, That State and National Prohibition is the only permanent solution of the temperance question.

GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN M. E. ZION CHURCH (New Berne, N. C., 1888).—*Resolved*, That we favor every means that can be brought to bear for the destruction of the traffic in all intoxicants as a beverage in State and Nation.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (Kansas City, 1889).—*Resolved*, That nothing short of constitutional and statutory prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquors as beverages, by the United States and the several States, will be satisfactory, and to this end we will pray and work.

WYOMING M. E. CONFERENCE (Pittston, Pa., 1889).—*Resolved*, That in our judgment the one and only goal of the temperance reform is Constitutional prohibition, State and National; and as an aid in reaching this goal we dedicate ourselves, voice, vote and example.

SOUTHERN BAPTISTS (Memphis, 1889).—*Resolved*, By the Southern Baptists, in convention assembled, that we favor the speedy and entire prohibition of the liquor traffic; that we oppose license for this traffic in any and all of its forms, through which men buy the right to destroy human hope and happiness and blight human souls, as an offense against public morals and a sin against God.

BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION OF FLORIDA (OCALA, 1889).—*Resolved*, That we reaffirm with increased emphasis our position in the past years against the manufacture, sale and use of spirituous, malt and vinous liquors as a beverage, as a sin against God and one of the greatest evils of our times; that we rejoice in the progress of such principles as have secured to us the advance made along this line, and pledge ourselves to an earnest and continuous opposition to this abomination of desolation, always favoring all possible legal restriction but lending no countenance to the pernicious

license system, until we shall be permitted in the good providence of God to enjoy absolute and universal prohibition of this infamous evil.

ST. JOHN'S RIVER CONFERENCE OF THE M. E. CHURCH OF FLORIDA (Eustis, 1889).—*Resolved*, That the true principle of our Republican form of government is to seek the welfare of the people above everything else, and that any form of license, either high or low, is subversive of the best interests of the people, and therefore wrong. That we believe the only effective remedy against the evil of intemperance is in its total prohibition, and can be effectively secured only by State and National prohibition.

MISSOURI SUNDAY SCHOOL CONVENTION OF CHRISTIAN CHURCH (Carrollton, 1889).—*Resolved*, That Constitutional Prohibition, both State and National, is the only successful way of dealing with the liquor traffic.

INDORSEMENTS OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY (Indianapolis Convention, 1888).—*Declared*, That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages should be made public crimes and prohibited as such. That such prohibition must be secured through amendments to our National and State constitutions, enforced by adequate laws adequately supported by administrative authority.

THE PROHIBITION PARTY IN THE SEVERAL STATES has ratified the above declaration of the National Prohibition party; and also, by independent resolutions, has declared in favor of National Constitutional prohibition.

SOUTH DAKOTA REPUBLICAN PARTY (1889 Convention).—*Declared*, Recognizing the pernicious influences of the traffic in intoxicating liquors upon every interest of our commonwealth, we favor National and State prohibition of such traffic, and the adoption of the article of our Constitution relating thereto, and the enactment and enforcement of such laws as will make the same effective.

INDORSEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPERS.

[Extracts from editorials indorsing National Prohibition in general and the Senate Report on the Amendment in particular.]

Christian Nation (New York—Unsectarian).—We heartily indorse and approve the joint resolution which has been presented to the Senate with a favorable report thereon for the submission to the States of this great moral question. If nothing more could be accomplished by such a vote, it would afford all temperance people the immense encouragement of a definite knowledge of the number of voters there are who want the saloon destroyed.

The Baltimore Methodist (M. E.).—The drunken carousal called a ball, with which the great Centennial celebration ended in New York is an insult to the memory of Washington which will not be wiped out until we have National prohibition.

The Christian Citizen (Topeka, Kansas—Unsectarian).—The agitation for a National prohibitory law will help to put into Congress men

who are opposed to the traffic, while it will educate the public conscience in the right direction. Let the good work go on until the National Government shall be divorced from its alliance with the rum-seller.

The Central Methodist (Organ of the M. E. Church South). — The measure proposed is the only key to the solution of the greatest question now confronting the American people. Let the Christian people of all sections petition their representatives in Congress to allow the several States to pass upon this measure.

Illustrated Christian Weekly (New York—Evangelical). — It would seem wise that the action recommended by the Committee should be taken by Congress.

The Mid-Continent (St. Louis—Presbyterian). — We are in perfect sympathy with the end in view, and with the method proposed. It will have to come sooner or later, and the sooner the better. If we could only insert the words *and drinking* after the word *sale* in the resolution, it would look like the conclusion of the whole matter.

The Helper (Harrisburg—M. E.).—It adds to the many evidences already presented that the prohibition question is a national issue, and that it is destined at no very distant day to become international.

The Gospel Herald (Princeton, N. J. — Undenominational). — We favor the submission to the States of the amendment recommended by the report, and will support it.

The Record and Messenger (Brooklyn — Primitive Methodist). — The liquor question can be correctly settled in no other way than through such an amendment as is here proposed. Local option, high-license, nor State prohibition meets this national evil. The prohibition of this "gigantic crime of crimes" must be put into the Federal Constitution and rigidly enforced by all needed legislation as well as public sentiment, ere this question is effectually settled. At any rate, in response to the demand of *ten millions* of the most thoughtful, sober, patriotic, intelligent and Christian people of this land, the question should at least be submitted to the people of the several States for settlement, and at as early a date as possible.

The Pioneer (Baltimore—Evangelical). — The *Pioneer* not only clamors for the opportunity, but trusts that the opportunity, if offered, will be embraced, to pass the amendment.

Weekly Itinerant—(Harrisburg—U. B.).—We most heartily indorse the committee's report, believing that the millions of people in the United States who are in favor of the abolition of the liquor traffic ought to unite their voices in demanding the submission of the National Prohibitory Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Western Methodist Protestant (Cameron, Texas—M. E.) — We are in for it.

The Golden Censer (Rockford, Ill.—Unsectarian). — To refuse to allow the States so to record their wills would be contrary to our national spirit. The only question is one of the people's wanting such a chance to speak, and this is abundantly proven by the great masses of petitions sent up and the expressions of the press, which have been very general.

The Signs of the Times (Organ of the International Tract and Missionary Society).—We believe firmly in National Constitutional Prohibition. The standard arguments used against it have really no weight; and we can see no good reason why every State should not adopt it.

The Florida Baptist Witness.—The submission of this resolution to the States, to become valid as a part of the National Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, is recommended by the committee, and is therefore a bill in proper shape for the consideration of Congress. Parenthetically we remark that this fact makes it very important for us to see that those who are now offering themselves as candidates for election to Congress tell us plainly how they expect to vote upon this important measure. A promise or pledge from a good man will do no harm; a promise or pledge is sometimes absolutely necessary to furnish stamina for bad men.

California Christian Advocate (San Francisco—M. E.) — The readers of this paper know that it has strongly deprecated the national interference in protecting the liquor traffic from the just consequences of its innumerable crimes. The regulation of commerce carries with it the protection of common carriers against the prohibitory statutes of Maine and Iowa and Kansas, so that they can carry liquor into these States in original packages, notwithstanding the opposition of State laws. This fact, and the application of this principle to actual cases, have made thousands of men desire to see a constitutional amendment adopted that would forever free the National Government from the dangerous power now given it—to protect in any way a traffic that is more infamous and cruel than the slave trade. We shrink with a natural, constitutional, inborn repugnance from tinkering with the Constitution, but we do not know that there is any possible way out of the difficulty presented by the Senate Committee except to adopt this amendment. Yet it is only prudent and just for all parties to recognize the great obstacles before us in attempting to carry this act. It must be passed by a *two-thirds* majority of the Senate and House, and then by *three-fourths* of the several States. It has against it the colossal forces of the liquor traffic compactly arrayed in politics, all on one side, and desperate, unscrupulous and exceedingly cunning in the management of its wicked canvass. It will require the utmost courage, skill, patience, liberality and devotion, to make this effort a success, but it is a matter of infinite moment to free our National Government from any complicity, immediate or remote, with a traffic so heavily laden with sin, sorrow and ruin.

This is the next reform, and the greatest of all political reforms.

The Saints' Herald (Lamoni, Iowa—Latter Day Saints). — The agitation has been going on in almost all parts of the country; public attention has been directed to the liquor traffic and what it was costing the Nation in moral and social destruction, until there is none so hardy as to seriously deny the terrible indictment under which alcoholic poison has been placed; and now it is high time that public opinion wrought by so much and so long-continued labor of "moral suasion," should become crystallized into law, and the community, State and Nation, be relieved of the huge burden of desolation, destruction and death which has been imposed upon it by perverted human appetite. The question how shall this crystallization of public opinion into law be accomplished, is pressing upon the people for answer. Shall it be by legislative enactment in the State General Assemblies; by amendment to State constitutions; by Congressional legislation, or by amendment to the Constitution of the United States?

Already in several of the States legislative prohibition is had, and is accomplishing much. It is argued, however, and with some show of propriety, that if prohibitive legislation does so much, Congressional enactments would do more; but that the sweeping stroke of propriety, policy and self-protection against the evil would be dealt by the concurrence of all

the States in an amendment to the Constitution, thus dealing with the questions of the evil and its remedy as a Nation, and putting it out of the power of smaller and isolated portions of the common realm to force larger and more conservative parts to carry the burden entailed upon them by bad neighbors. Let the amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the various States for an action of the people and let the bright, broad-axe of beneficent reform fall upon the evil of drink to its utter extirpation. What a revolution that will be!

The Gospel Messenger (Mount Morris, Ill.).—It is not too much to hope that the day will come when "this amendment will become a part of our Constitution, and when that day does come, it will bring freedom to a larger number of slaves than resulted from Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. May the day speedily come when this desirable end may be reached.

The Baptist Leader (Montgomery, Ala.).—That Congress should propose an amendment to the National Constitution to prohibit the manufacture and sale of whisky, as a beverage which is undermining our Government, there can be no doubt. In order to make good citizens we must take away that which makes bad. And since nine-tenths of all the crimes in this country are traceable to intoxication, then the only remedy is the removal of the cause. The Government has no more right to sell my father that which makes him a bad man than it has to license one to steal my goods.

The Religious Telescope (Dayton, O.—U. B.).—These are mighty words in the mightiest chamber of legislation on the globe. They portend great things in the future. They will never be fully silenced in that great Senate chamber. The voice of crying humanity and of God are abroad in the atmosphere. Shall rum rule our Nation, and our people be despoiled of the right to protect themselves against the raging murder of all that is pure and holy, or shall we put down the accursed thing? Shall "the chief curse of the world be summoned to the block of national justice and die by the hand of the only power which can wield an axe big and sharp enough to cut off its hydra head?" The problem is one the answer to which is life or death. To play with the monster is to be caught in the powers of death and hell. To stamp this demon of strong drink under foot and make its promotion a crime is to close the broadest gate to ruin, defend mankind against its mightiest foe, and rob every evil passion and crime of its mightiest instigation. It becomes every Christian man and woman to think much on these things. National prohibition is the ultimate end to which all efforts tend. The Government can drive this nefarious business into prison in a few short years if it will. When the people awake and utter the command it will be done.

The Church Advocate (Harrisburg—Church of God).—That State prohibitory amendments and legislation can be only partially successful has been the opinion of observing men for quite a time. And more recent developments have made this fact clear to many who had formerly thought otherwise. The experience of local option counties has clearly proved that so long as the importation laws remain as they now are, and with which States can not interfere, prohibition will be seriously interfered with. So on a larger scale has the recent decision of an Iowa court interfered with the execution of the prohibitory law of that State. Hence, National legislation, based upon an amendment of the Constitution, is necessary to test to the fullest, and under the most favorable conditions, the virtue of prohibitory legislation.

Christian Worker (Chicago—Friends).—Laws have their influence and power largely in proportion to the dignity and strength of the body which enacts them. The laws of the United States command more consideration than State laws; and State laws, more than municipal. The powerful and wealthy establishments and combinations in the liquor business feel comparatively safe in their trade while we talk only of local prohibition. They are so strongly intrenched that they expect to escape in some way the penalties of *municipal* laws, even when such laws are enacted. They are rather indifferent to "local option," quite satisfied if we go no farther than that.

But let there be talk of State prohibition, then they are thoroughly aroused. They know that however much they may evade and defy municipal law, they will find it very different to face the authority of the State; and results show that, except in their strongholds generally found on the border of States where the traffic is permitted, prohibition is effectual.

But even State prohibition, were it enacted in New York, Ohio and Illinois, would have an almost hopeless task to drive the saloon from the cities of New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. To make the work effectual a still stronger hand is needed—National prohibition. If we can once get a prohibitory article in the National Constitution then the end of the liquor traffic is near. The enemy that has defied subordinate authority will be without hope when he can find no spot in all our great domain where he can carry his goods to market, and where to lift his finger to ply his trade is to defy the authority of the strongest government upon earth. The liquor traffic, in either of the cities named, may be too much for a State, but it is as nothing when the Nation says, Depart!

Is there hope that we shall ever have such an amendment to the National Constitution? Yes, greater hope than there was thirty years ago that we should have National abolition of slavery.

To this end let us pray and labor.

INDORSEMENTS OF SECULAR NEWSPAPERS.

[Extracts from editorials indorsing the Senate Committee's recommendation to submit the National Prohibitory Amendment.]

The Union Signal (Organ of the World's and National W. C. T. U.).—However strong, theoretically, seem arguments in favor of securing the abolition of the liquor traffic through State action alone, experience proves their weakness. The thing can not be done. The evil is a national evil, the sin of perpetuating it is a national sin; God deals with nations as nations, and accepts no action of isolated members as expiation for the nation's sin. The strongest power of the liquor traffic lies in its connection with the National Government; through its internal revenue the Federal Government is a partner in every distillery in the land; while it furnishes none of the capital, it takes the lion's share of the profit in payment for its protection, without which the traffic could not exist. No State is thus implicated. Accepting thus this partnership in the nefarious business, the Nation must be held responsible for the results of this traffic, and her connection with it must be severed before the traffic can be abolished. Every defeat of constitutional amendments in the States deepens our conviction that National prohibition is the most direct road to State prohibition.

The difficulty of enforcing prohibition in isolated States is another strong argument for National prohibition. That Kansas and Iowa, sur-

rounded as they are by license States, open to the importation of liquor in "original packages" by force of Federal decision, and frequently having all the power of Federal office-holders within their limits exerted to nullify prohibition, succeed as well as they do in its enforcement, is a wonder. If our enemies did but know it, every claim they make that prohibition does not prohibit, that liquor can be obtained in Prohibition States, is an argument for National prohibition. Single States can not be expected to absolutely enforce any State law in face of the combined opposition of neighboring States, the liquor traffic and the National Government. Bring the National Government to their aid, and that would bring the neighboring States into harmony with their action, and these combined forces would make short work of annihilating the enemy. The National Government, with its ally, high-license, whether in the form of internal revenue or municipal taxation, is the great bulwark which protects the destroyer of the home from the wrath of the people.

Again, a campaign for National prohibition is demanded to stop the slaughter of our forces in detachments. It is poor generalship which persists in opposing a single battalion to the whole force of the enemy; yet this is exactly what is being done in campaigns for State prohibition. Again and again, and again, has the State battalion been marched up to confront the whole power of the liquor traffic and to be slaughtered. That power was massed against Massachusetts till she was defeated; the victorious army, intact and exultant, was in the best of trim to attack and vanquish Pennsylvania, then after two days' rest mass its legions on little Rhoda, then turn to Dakota. Will we never learn wisdom by the things we suffer? Let us stop this useless slaughter of the innocents by dropping a plan of campaign which would be considered idiotic in any other warfare, and bring to bear upon this awful problem consecrated common sense.

The National Temperance Advocate (Organ of the National Temperance Society).—A fundamental measure so comprehensive and radical, it is not expected can be carried in a day. But it has now secured a place in the Congress of the United States, which, we venture to predict, it will continue to hold until it shall, sooner or later, pass that body, and be submitted to the States for their ratification. It is the high-water mark of the temperance agitation, and it is occasion for profound rejoicing that thus early it has won a favorable report from a Committee of the United States Senate. The principle is thus recognized and has secured high official indorsement. It remains now to obtain the indorsement of the Senate, and of Congress as a whole, and then a ratification by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

In every Congressional District, in every State in the Union, approval of the proposed National prohibitory constitutional amendment should now and henceforth be made by the opponents of the liquor traffic everywhere, and of all political parties, a test of fitness in the nomination and support of candidates for Congress. It may, and should be, treated in every Congressional District as a non-partisan measure. All opponents of the drink traffic, Democrats, Republicans, and party and non-partisan Prohibitionists, should stand shoulder to shoulder in support of candidates avowedly in favor of this National prohibitory amendment. United States Senators also should be selected with reference to their friendliness to this fundamentally important measure.

A successful National prohibitory constitutional amendment campaign, of course, means agitation and education concerning the injurious nature and effects of alcoholic beverages and the inseparable evils of the liquor traffic in every State and in every county and township throughout the land.

To a large extent the brewers, distillers, and liquor-sellers are now dominant, though their wonted political grip is rapidly loosening in many localities in many States. All the more timely and important now will be the campaign for National constitutional prohibition, inaugurated by the action of the Senate Committee, because of the suddenly developed, widespread, so-called "free whisky" agitation. Free whisky, without prohibition, is a public peril. National constitutional prohibition, and No-whisky, should henceforth be, irrespective of party, the rallying cry of the opponents of the liquor traffic throughout the land.

The Voice (New York).—It is always comparatively easy for a Prohibition State to suppress the breweries and distilleries within its borders. The difficulty is not there. Gen. Neal Dow says in Maine the Prohibitionists have no difficulty in suppressing the manufacture of liquor. Their difficulty has been, and is, to prevent the shipment of liquor into the State. They can not prevent this shipment under the interstate commerce law, and when the liquor is once in the State it is impossible to prevent its sale, except by "a spying system" that is distasteful and un-American, and which tends to bring all Local Option laws, whether town, county or State, into disfavor. And now even "this spying system" will be utterly ineffectual under the late Supreme Court decision which permits sales in unbroken packages in Prohibition localities, a decision hurriedly taken advantage of by liquor dealers everywhere.

There is one way of overcoming the difficulty, and only one. County and State prohibition are certainly doomed unless we can supplement it in some way that will get around the difficulty which arises through interstate commerce. Dr. Lyman Abbott says National prohibition is un-American. Common sense is American, and it is common sense to prevent, in the only way that it can be prevented, four-fifths of our crime, half of our idiocy and lunacy, and nine-tenths of our pauperism. The American Government exists for the people, not the people for it. Whatever a majority of the American people favor is American.

There are two things to be done to suppress the liquor traffic. Cut off manufacture and cut off importation. Let it be remembered that it is the suppression for beverage uses that we aim at. Whatever alcoholic liquors may be needed for scientific or other legitimate purposes can be provided for.

The United States Government has to-day in every brewery and distillery in the land an officer of the law. Not a gallon of whisky or of beer can be distilled or brewed except with the consent of this officer. Now let the attack be national. Let the United States Government say no alcoholic liquors shall be made, and every brewery and distillery in the land could be closed, and this without the creation of any new machinery; could be done with the machinery already in operation—a machinery that, under the internal revenue laws, has effectually suppressed the illegal manufacture of whisky and beer.

But how about importation? This is the only other door that is open. Here also the machinery is ready and in perfect working order for the effectual accomplishment of the work. The United States is surrounded with a net-work of Custom Houses. At the Custom House every box can be opened and examined, and every trunk, and even the man's person searched. There is no interstate commerce law to say you nay; and the smuggler's trade is a thing of the past. Scarcely a gallon of liquor could be imported against the will of the government. An amendment to the Federal Constitution covers the entire ground. The Government has the machinery made to hand to suppress absolutely the importation. And it

has the machinery already to hand for the suppression of the manufacture of liquor. If liquor is not made, and if it is not imported, then that ends it. You need not lay siege to 200,000 saloons. There need be no spy system more than that which we have to-day, and which the people endure without a murmur—the spy system which prevents the manufacture of “crooked” whisky and beer, and which prevents smuggling. The only change would be that all alcoholic liquors would be “crooked,” and to bring any of them into our ports would be smuggling. If it be made illegal to make or import liquor, we shall not need to trouble ourselves about what people drink or sell. In that way we would lay siege only at the distillery, the brewery, and the Custom House. It would immensely simplify our problem. We shall never have effective or satisfactory prohibition except on the National scale.

Is it not practicable? Is it not statesmanship?

Minneapolis *Daily Journal* (Ind.-Rep.).—The Senate Committee on Education has reported favorably the proposition to submit to the people of the various States a constitutional amendment to prohibit the liquor traffic in the United States. Certainly. Why not? What is to be said against submission? Why should not the people be allowed to vote on the question? Let the report of the committee be adopted and the amendment submitted.

Washington (D. C.) *Daily Post* (Ind.).—We can not see why there should be any serious objection to the submission of an amendment whenever a large number of respectable citizens call on Congress for such action. The framers of the Constitution took ample precautions against hasty changes in that instrument. The requirement that three-fourths of the States must concur in any proposed amendment in order to make it a part of the fundamental law, is a sufficient guarantee against dangerous innovations. No other constitutional government on the globe possesses more conservative features than ours. The easiest and best way to stop the clamor for National prohibition is to let the Blair amendment go to the States.

Bethlehem (Pa.) *Daily Times*.—We hope to see the adoption by Congress of the joint resolution. Whether the people want prohibition or not, can then be decided fairly and squarely. Let the people have a chance to vote upon this question, and let us stand by their verdict.

Beaver Falls (Pa.) *Daily Tribune* (Rep.).—We are ready to indorse, and we do indorse, the Senate Committee's report. We are unconditionally in favor of submitting to a vote of the people every measure of public policy that involves the prosperity and happiness of the Nation.

Washington (D. C.) *Daily Critic* (Ind.).—As we have said before, and continue to believe, there is no just reason why the question should not be put to the people in the manner proposed. The experiment is well worth trying for various reasons, both moral and political. If it were possible to secure concerted State action, such a test would be quite as satisfactory, but there is no way in which the public sentiment of the country with regard to the liquor traffic can be so speedily and satisfactorily obtained as by making one National election of it.

Memphis (Tenn.) *Daily Appeal* (Dem.).—The *Appeal* indorses the recommendation of the Senate Committee. No one can object, no matter what side he takes of it. Ten millions of the people, 3,000,000 of them electors, have by petition asked for the privilege of voting on such an amendment, and they ought to be gratified. The liquor question, like all

others, must be dealt with by the people. Their health and morals are involved in it, and it is for them to say whether a prohibitive amendment to the Federal Constitution, or high-license by the States is the best means of curtailing the admitted evil.

Creston (Iowa) *Daily Advertiser* (Ind.).—We who live in Prohibition States can realize more strongly than others, the need of such measures, being subjected to the harassments of outside influences, and embarrassed by the machinations of enemies of the law in our midst; in the name of public safety and public morals, for the happiness of American homes, in the name of American manhood, womanhood and youth, we want to see that amendment put before the American people, that the majority may speak out in unmistakable words of the ballot, whether they will have King Alcohol reign over them or not. And we say boldly and fearlessly that he who would object to submitting such an amendment to the people for their action, is an enemy of himself and country.

San Diego (Cal.) *Daily Sun* (Rep.).—It would be idle and useless for the country to question any longer the sincerity or high-minded purpose of the Prohibitionists of the United States. They stand upon a plane at least as high as that of the emancipators of slavery in the South, only that they are fighting a mental and moral slavery more utterly degrading than the former. As a volcano whose pent-up wrath has been smothered for years, our country is apparently destined to have its upheaval of public sentiment, and to eject all unhappy and discordant elements which interfere with its peace and prosperity. Is this eruption to occur on the prohibition issue? The rumblings seem to be growing louder and louder, until the whole land feels the scorching fire. Every breeze fans the flame, until now the most obscure citizen is guided by its light. Is it not desirable, then, to bring this issue at once before the people in a shape devoid of politics—as an amendment to the Federal Constitution?

San Diego (Cal.) *Daily Bee* (Rep.).—Intemperance is a great evil, and the liquor question is certain to force itself upon the people, just as slavery did. We are assured that 10,000,000 of the people of the United States favor the abolition of the liquor traffic by National legislation. The data furnished indicate that the figures are not overdrawn. Ten millions are a good many people. They represent one-sixth of the population, and probably one-half of the wealth and intelligence of the country. It is a better showing than slavery made at the same stage of agitation.

A thorough believer in the Republican form of government, the *Bee* will ever contend for tolerance to the minority. The only way to test the public sentiment upon any question is to submit it to the suffrages of the people. Hence we favor the Senate Committee's recommendation.

Middletown (Conn.) *Daily Herald* (Rep.).—It is stated in Senator Blair's report on the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution, that at least ten millions of the people of the United States are in favor of abolishing the liquor traffic by National legislation. We do not doubt the accuracy of the figures. This being the case, there can be no serious objection to submitting the proposed amendment to the people of the United States.

Anthony (Kan.) *Daily Journal* (Rep.).—Congress alone can regulate the commerce between the States, therefore it is necessary to pass a prohibitory amendment to the United States Constitution and submit the same to the States for ratification.

Gainesville (Fla.) *Daily Record* (Dem.).—Under the heading "Needed Legislation," the Senate report is largely copied.

Grand Forks (Dak.) *Daily Herald* (Rep.).—The demand for temperance reform has a right to be heard. The committee has done the only thing they could properly do in recommending that the amendment be referred to the States for ratification. It matters not whether the amendment be voted up or voted down, so far as concerns the inherent right of the people to pass upon the question. To deny this right is to subvert the principles of constitutional government. Congress ought to adopt the joint resolution and let the question go to the people. Friends of the reform will rejoice in the opportunity to go on record, and all others must admit the rightfulness of submitting so momentous a proposition, and one so deeply involving a Nation's well-being, to the final adjudication of the people who ask to be heard. The joint resolution ought to be adopted and the amendment submitted to the States for ratification.

Grand Forks (Dak.) *Daily Plaindealer* (Ind.).—This move seems to the *Plaindealer* to be the essence of practical prohibition legislation. There are hundreds of thousands of practical business men in the United States earnestly in favor of prohibitory legislation whenever it can be made to appear to them that the legislation sought to be enacted will accomplish any practical results. Should the National Government take hold of the question no one will question its capability to suppress the liquor traffic.

Aberdeen (Dak.) *Daily News* (Rep.).—There should be little or no objection to such submission. If the States do not want National prohibition they can refuse to ratify the amendment.

The Lever of Chicago (Pro.).—There is but one sure way out of this trouble, and that is through National prohibition.

New York Pioneer (Pro.).—State prohibition, wherever it has been fairly tried, has fully proven the claim made for it, that it is the best solution of the liquor problem yet attempted. State prohibition as enforced in Kansas could only be bettered by prohibition as enforced in the surrounding States, which would shut off the opportunity for the smuggling in of liquor contrary to law. Prohibition in a group of States could only be improved by National prohibition, and that by International prohibition.

The Massachusetts Ploughman (Boston—oldest agricultural newspaper in Mass.).—The recent State decisions regarding the adoption of a constitutional prohibitory amendment make it certain that the only way to make the result a success is to make it a National rather than a State issue. The State of Rhode Island, for example, may prohibit the sale of liquor and yet the effect would be hardly perceptible, because it is so easy to run over into Connecticut or Massachusetts and get liquor. This is peculiarly true of a small State like Rhode Island, and the hotel men made just complaint that travelers would so arrange their trips as to transact business and be out of the State in a day. It is true to a greater or less extent of all States.

Prohibition can not be fairly tried in sections, it must be National in order to be effectual.

The Woman's Journal (Boston).—We all know what annoyance the citizens who live near the border of a Prohibition State suffer in consequence of the smuggling in of liquor from the next State. If a National prohibition amendment can be obtained, it will bring all the States under a uniform law.

Salem (Mass.) *Observer* (Ind.).—All will admit that such a bill passed and properly enforced would be productive of more good and would create a greater degree of prosperity in this land than was ever known before. Rum is the curse of any country, and we need but look at the lower classes

of England, Ireland, France and Germany to substantiate such a statement. The above resolution strikes at the heart of the evil. Just so long as it is legal to manufacture intoxicating beverages, and the Government of this country licenses the same as a legitimate business, just so long will the people of this country drink the millions of gallons of beer, whisky and rum annually manufactured, and no temperance organization of the present time or in the future will have the power to stop it. The present movement to abolish the liquor traffic by prohibiting the manufacture of liquor that is to be sold as a beverage, is a step in the right direction, and when we consider how many millions of dollars would be saved annually to the poorer people and the attending happiness and prosperity of their families, by the enactment of such a law, we wonder that there is hesitation.

Ogle County (Polo, Ill.) *Press* (Rep.).—This action strikes at the very root of the evil, and we believe that "to this completion must it come at last." More and more are the masses of the sturdy farmers of the country coming to the conclusion that the drink habit is an unmixed curse to the Nation and the cause of most of the crime, pauperism and taxes, from all of which they are compelled to suffer, whether they will or no. There can be no doubt that the sentiment favoring National prohibition is growing rapidly in many parts of the country, but we fear it is yet far too weak to carry, though we favor its submission, because of the education which must result from the discussion of such an amendment.

Nashville (Tenn.) *Issue* (Pro.).—Give no man your vote who declines to support this important measure. It is a right of the people to give judgment on all public questions, and no representative can deny them this privilege and be true to popular government.

St. Lawrence (Canton, N. Y.) *Plaindealer* (Rep.).—In this report of Senator Blair it is stated that, judging from petitions that have been presented to Congress during the last few years, it can hardly be doubted that at least ten millions of the people of the United States are in favor of abolishing the liquor traffic by National legislation. This estimate is doubtless reliable. The report also takes the ground that a refusal by Congress to submit this proposal to the States would constitute a substantial denial of the right of petition. The ground is well taken. So great a number of the citizens of the United States as are now asking and demanding the submission of this proposition to the people of the several States have a right to have their petition heeded. An opportunity should be given them to be heard upon the merits of their cause in the forum of the States, where alone it can be heard and decided.

We believe the time has come when our legislators should no longer hinder or delay the submission of this proposition to the States.

Cortland (N. Y.) *Standard* (Rep.).—It is always a sound principle in a republican form of government that when a large body of citizens favor a change in the Constitution, and ask that the question of such change be submitted to vote, their request should be granted. It is specially desirable that a National prohibition amendment should be submitted as a test of the feeling of the people on this great question. If a majority of the States are in favor of it, they are certainly entitled to have it made a part of the fundamental law. If they are not, then sensible temperance men will see the necessity of accepting for the present something short of this radical measure, and of educating public sentiment up to a point where National prohibition will be possible.

Lowell (Mass.) *Sun* (Dem.).—We think the proposed amendment a fatal move, but we see no reason why it should n't be submitted to the people. The good sense of the American people will settle it as it ought to be settled.

The New Republic (Lincoln, Neb.—Pro.).—The American people are divided three or four times on the liquor question. The first division presents the humiliating spectacle of moneyed interest and unnatural appetite. On the other side, morality, humanity and temperance. Then there is the tax and restrictive party claiming to desire the ultimate extinction of the saloon and that they are on the right road to get there. Counterpoised against this faction stand the Prohibitionists, who believe the right way to prohibit is to prohibit; go straight for what you want and let policy go to the dogs. Then there is the local and general party. "It is right to have prohibition," say the local optionists, "where it is wanted, but for one community to force on to another what is not wanted, is not in accord with the genius of our government." These are met with the doctrine that majorities have the right to rule; that whenever a majority of the American people say the saloon must go, then go it must.

The saloon is not a local institution, neither was it ever such. Its blighting curse rests upon the entire land. The saloon may be truly said to be a National institution. The bar-tender calls the roll of his customers at the foot of Bunker Hill, in the snowy North, and beneath the shades of the palmetto, in the sunny South. The coasts of the Pacific and the Atlantic are alike dotted with these plague spots. The effect in every clime and in every age is the same. Its hell-bound mission is to degrade humanity—morally, mentally, socially and physically.

Lincoln's argument that a nation had a right to self-protection is reason enough for the American people to banish the saloon, and to do it by the strong arm of the National Government. A precinct or a city may bring about a needed reform when the matter begins and ends with that political division. But to work a permanent temperance reform while liquor is flowing in on every hand would be like dipping a corner of the ocean dry.

Pittsfield (N. H.) *Analecta* (Non-political).—A clearer or more logical statement of the exact bearing of the temperance question on the present and future of the American people could not have been formulated by the most ardent temperance advocate. True friends of prohibition everywhere can but rejoice at the prospect of having the question presented in a proper manner and in a tangible shape, eliminated from politics and unhampered by side issues.

Boulder (Colo.) *News* (Rep.).—Whether they indorse or reject it, the people ought to have the privilege of voting on the question and settling it for themselves. Perhaps it is fortunate, though, for the friends of prohibition that it is not likely to be put to a vote for some time. If submitted now it would probably be defeated, but with the present growth of the temperance sentiment, in a few years, by the time Congress can be induced to pass it, public sentiment will indorse it at the polls.

Sault Ste. Marie (Mich.) *Herald* (Ind.).—Many are becoming of opinion that the problem can be solved in no other way.

The Omaha Leader (Pro.).—The Constitution of the United States was adopted by the States "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." From time to time it has been found necessary to add to its original articles in order that the liberties and rights of the weak

might be preserved. The liquor traffic is, beyond controversy, the great enemy to all that our government was framed to secure, the present nullifier of its constitutional provisions. It is the chief cause of strife and crime in our nation. It enslaves and destroys tens of thousands of men yearly, and drags down to poverty, disgrace and wretchedness a much larger number of helpless, defenseless women and children. It preys upon the earnings of the people, increases the financial burdens of all for the support of its sponges, criminals and paupers, impoverishes its victims to enrich itself, and is the most cruel and powerful embodiment of injustice. It has become of late a thoroughly organized, centralized power, moved by one common purpose, and able to mass in a single State all the boodle and political influence of its National organization. Such is its power to buy and corrupt the daily press and to manipulate or silence political leaders through fear of future punishment, that single States engaging it in battle are almost certain to be defeated. And if here and there a State under exceptionally favorable circumstances succeeds in placing Prohibition upon its statute books or in its constitution, it has undertaken a task which requires a like change in the National law before its own law officers can have power to sweep the curse from its borders. The National Government provides in the interstate commerce law, a safe-conduct for the foe to enter each State. It also licenses that which the State forbids, and so in its moral influence as well as commercial assistance continues to sustain the State law-breakers.

A local evil can be cured by local laws; a national, or nation-wide evil, must have national laws to eradicate it. The prohibitory laws in Kansas, Iowa and Maine have very greatly lessened the traffic, but it requires constant vigilance and effort to enforce them under present outside conditions—and in large border towns the difficulties in the way of enforcement are well-nigh insurmountable. The principal thing which leads men to vote against prohibition is the belief (assiduously nurtured by the daily papers) that the proposed law would not be enforced. It is not because they desire saloons.

The people not in sympathy with the liquor traffic and desiring its abolishment everywhere, greatly outnumber those who conscientiously fight for it. And the voters who would favor an amendment to the National Constitution that would set the United States officers after all brewers, distillers and dealers in alcoholic beverages, as they now hunt the moonshiners, are in an immense majority. They see that a prohibitory amendment to the National Constitution would remove the question of law-enforcement from local politics, would prevent the shipment of liquor into prohibition territory, would destroy the perpetual guerilla warfare upon Prohibition State borders, would give immediate relief to the District of Columbia and the Territories, and would harmonize the teaching of the laws and add greatly to the educating power of the Nation-wide decree, making the alcohol seller everywhere a criminal.

Let us fight the traffic wherever we can. Let us keep up the present widespread agitation that "the Nation's conscience may be rallied to right its laws." But let us bear in mind that the decisive battle must be fought out along National lines where the liquor power can not in a day concentrate to crush us. Let us push for a National constitutional amendment prohibiting forever in the United States the "manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage."

Columbia (Magnolia, Ark.) *Banner* (Dem.).—So many memorialists certainly deserve a hearing.

Bristol County (Taunton, Mass.) *Republican* (Rep.).—Some members of the Committee making this recommendation are not themselves in favor of adopting this amendment, but they are in favor of submitting it to the

people for their decision. The obvious sufficient reason for submitting this amendment to the people is that an immense number of voters desire its adoption. It belongs to the people to determine whether liquor shall or shall not be made and sold as a beverage, and all should favor the submission of this amendment to the people whether they will themselves vote for its adoption or not.

Boston Commonwealth (Ind.).—Deserves grave consideration. Many millions of the inhabitants of the United States are in favor of abolishing the liquor traffic by National legislation, and the amendment should be submitted to the country, if for no other purpose than to ascertain accurately just what the sentiment of the entire people is in this regard. * * *

The only fair, practical test of the question would be, to submit the amendment to the people without regard to party, and give both those in favor and those against it an opportunity to fight the battle out on common ground.

The Good Templar Sentinel (Organ of the Grand Lodge of Virginia).—The Constitution of the United States is an instrument of writing—a compact—agreed to by the States. It is fundamental law to the whole country. It is designed to embrace those principles of government which will benefit every State singly, and all the States combined. Amendments to the original compact have from time to time, been submitted to the States for acceptance as the progress of events showed them necessary to the welfare of the people. The rule of action it seems to us, ought to be about this, viz.: when a measure for the public good is plainly demonstrated, but can hardly be carried into successful practice unless it becomes the National policy, then there should be exertion to secure the consent of the States to make it the National law by constitutional provision. Such we believe the matter of prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages to be. Nothing is more easily demonstrable than the great evil of the drink habit, which is chargeable upon the legalized liquor traffic. Suppress the traffic and you bring smiles instead of tears to multitudes. You light up the homes of thousands with hope and joy, in which under the license system there has been the gloom of despair or the dread of murderous madness. It is equally clear that the fact that absence of Federal law on the subject has constituted the principal difficulty of making State prohibition effective. "The Federal permit" has often been found in the hands of liquor dealers in States where prohibition is law. Then it can be readily seen that if Virginia were a prohibition State and North Carolina a license State, it would be so easy to establish a jug trade across the line. Hence we favor the submission of a constitutional amendment to the States, not for the reason that some secular journals do (with the hope that a defeat may cause cessation of temperance agitation), but with the sincere desire that the good sense and patriotism of the American people will place in the National law a "thou shalt not" to the fatally injurious worker in human ruin. Let the proposition be submitted and then let rhetoric, eloquence, logic, the testimony of facts, the teachings of true statesmanship and the instructions of holy Writ be employed throughout the length and breadth of the land to give power to the appeal for ratification. The disease not being local, remedy must be otherwise than local. No wise practitioner of medicine will prescribe a simple plaster on the ulcerated finger, when he knows the whole system needs purifying. It is time the statesmen of our Nation were roused to the awful danger that threatens our loved country from a traffic as devoid of conscience as of benefit, and as murderous as it is shrewd.

Downs (Kans.) *Times* (Rep.).—Let the people speak out their sentiments in the way of petitioning Congress to give the whole country a chance

to vote on a constitutional amendment for the National prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, and we believe our representatives will not fail to bend to the wishes and the will of their constituency.

Delta (O.) *Avalanche* (Rep.).—Next Sunday the churches will all present a petition asking Congress to pass the joint resolution and so submit the prohibitory amendment for ratification by the States. Not only every temperate man ought to sign the petition, but also every man who desires that his family and his neighbors' families shall be protected against the temptation of the poisonous cup should sign it, and many a slave to the drink demon will sign it for the reasons cited.

Chamberlain (Dak.) *Register* (Rep.).—After watching the workings of local option and other schemes for fettering the traffic, we have come to the conclusion that this is the only effectual method of abolishing the rum curse.

Southern Journal (Louisville, Ky.—Pro.).—We must have the voice of the people on the question, and to get a verdict we are compelled to ask Congress to give us an opportunity to express ourselves.

Of necessity the question is a political one, has been, and always will be, until finally disposed of by constitutional amendment.

Fairness alone demands the question to be brought before the whole people, and the delegated few should be shamed into submission, if by no other means they will submit the question to the people.

Coldwater (Mich.) *Sun* (Dem.).—Nothing less than National prohibition will effectually cure the drink evil. As long as the curse is dealt with by regulation it will thrive. The fountain head of the evil is the unrestricted importation and manufacture of liquors. When liquors are made only under the supervision of the general Government, and their sale as a beverage is absolutely prohibited by the same high authority, then, and not before, will the blight of intemperance be stamped out.

The Derry (N. H.) *News*.—Since the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress a joint resolution has been pending proposing an amendment of the Constitution of the United States in relation to the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of alcoholic liquors. It is earnestly hoped that when Congress next convenes it will agree to submit to the whole people the right to vote on the question, which several of the States have recently had the privilege of doing. If a majority of votes could not be secured, there is no doubt that the sentiment of the Nation's population is strongly in favor of the National prohibition of the traffic in alcoholic poisons made to be used as beverages.

Crete (Neb.) *Globe* (Rep.).—The people of the United States have become familiar with constitutional amendment campaigns, having for their object the engrafting of prohibitory amendments upon the State constitutions. For the past few years this particular mode had been the one almost universally adopted by temperance workers as giving the best and most permanent results.

The recent elections throughout the East have not filled the hearts of the local Prohibitionists with murky sadness, as our opponents would have us think. On the contrary, it has filled them with a belief that the present mode of carrying on prohibition campaigns is as radically defective as the old moral suasion method, and about as effective as regards the country at large. State campaigns are open to criticism, from the fact that, occupying but a small portion of people at any one time, the liquor dealers all over the country are enabled to decide the fight just as they please by their

command of unlimited boodle through their various organizations. True, the friends of temperance have the same opportunity to concentrate their efforts and their money to help the campaign, but owing to their lack of organization it is practically impossible for them to do so.

Year by year the conviction has forced itself home to temperance workers that a National amendment is the thing. This movement took its official birth from a resolution introduced into the United States Senate, December 12, 1887, by Senator Blair. The movement being so radical a departure from all previous methods, met with little response at first, but lately it has been gaining ground with remarkable rapidity, and in five years from now the *Globe* predicts that the Nation will be engaged in as hot a battle for submission as this State saw last fall. In the meantime the States will continue to fall into line with a regularity that would dishearten friend Bacchus himself. People who are consoling themselves with the prophecy that this temperance agitation will soon blow over have our sympathy.

The California Prohibitionist.—The recent defeats of attempted State Constitutional Prohibition serve but to emphasize the need of National Constitutional Prohibition. The fact that it has been defeated in so many States is no indication that the necessary three-fourths of the States could not be carried in its favor were it submitted. The fact is, that it would be much easier to carry every State for prohibition when the question is submitted simultaneously, than to carry one when submitted to it alone. In the latter case the power of the liquor traffic of the entire Nation is concentrated on the single State, while the temperance forces secure little help outside the State itself. In the former, the liquor power would be weakened by having its resources spread over a larger territory, while the temperance element would arouse to battle in every State. The repeal of the amendment in Rhode Island also points to the necessity for taking the question out of the politics of the States, where it is subjected to the abuse of political machinations, and placing it in the organic law of the land, alongside with the amendment abolishing slavery. This is the ideal prohibition law. All other kinds—even State prohibition—are but more or less local in their character, and subject to all the weaknesses of "local option" results. Once in the United States Constitution, and the lack of unison between State and National laws on the question will disappear. No more Government permits will be granted for the sale of liquors on prohibition territory. The problem of the shipment of intoxicants into and across prohibition territory will disappear, and the sisterhood of States, backed by the power of the general Government, will prove equal to the task of throttling the monster of intemperance. This must be the end of temperance and prohibition agitation. Statutory local prohibition, and State prohibition, both statutory and constitutional, are good as far as they go, but they do not go far enough, nor are they as efficient as they might be with the re-inforcement of National legislation to give them strength and stability.

Hill City (Kan.) *Reveille* (Rep.).—We should like to see Congress submit a National Prohibitory Amendment to the States for adoption or rejection, and put at rest for awhile the clamor for such an amendment. We hardly believe such an amendment would receive the sanction of three-fourths of the States, but there could be no harm in submitting it and testing the popular feeling on the subject.

Jamestown (Dak.) *Capital* (Dem.).—The time has come when this issue can no longer be ignored or evaded. As Lincoln said in his immortal

speech opening the senatorial campaign of 1858, in regard to the slavery question, "We are now far on in the fifth year since a policy was inaugurated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to the slavery agitation, but during that time this agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion that agitation will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed." There are many parallels in the agitation of the prohibition question of to-day and the anti-slavery question of thirty years ago. It has reached a point in public sentiment where nothing short of a crisis can or will allay it. There can be no fair objection to submitting the question to the legislatures of the States for ratification or rejection. It will be brought nearer the people, and the people can be trusted to settle it aright. How can any one who believes in the theory and principles of popular government object to this? The political party or the politician who objects to submitting this question to the people is unworthy of the confidence of the people.

White Mountain Republic (Littleton, N. H.—Ind.).—The vote on the prohibitory amendment recently in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island is being generally accepted by the friends of license as evidence that the cause of prohibition is dead and that now Prohibitionists should generally turn in and help pass stringent license laws. They will find that the cause of prohibition is by no means dead, and that those who believe in it are just as firmly convinced of its necessity as ever. No true Prohibitionist can ever favor license, for if the sale of liquor as a beverage is wrong, it is certainly wrong to assent to its being sold for a price, no matter how large or small that price may be. We believe that prohibition of the liquor traffic by States is a good thing, but that the result to be desired can only be attained by National prohibition, and that question should be submitted to the people by Congress. It is stated on good authority that there are 10,000,000 National Prohibitionists in the country, and they are certainly entitled to be heard. In a National contest the power of the liquor force would be divided, and they would be unable to bring the pressure to bear which they now do in State contests. Let the question be submitted to the people.

The Living Issue (Jackson, Mich.—Pro.).—This question is political in its nature, and the Nation is responsible as a whole for the evils arising from a lack of proper legislating and enforcement of law to prohibit the traffic.

This, like all other great questions of National character and responsibility, where the contest has been brought on by the enemy of the people seeking to sacrifice National reputation for personal ends, springs from the people and not from political sharks. It is a contest for principle demanded by the great conscience of the advanced moral thinkers of the day, and must be brought around to an ultimate contest between the moral and immoral portions of society by and through a channel made for that purpose by the people. The mere submission of this or that question to an unorganized mass of politicians who are divided on every question except the one, to them, great question of deceiving and fleecing the people, and divided among themselves on all great problems of merit, will do but little towards settling any question of moral consequence. When the election of Legislatures shall have been brought about by a contest on this question, and the moral element of the people has been victorious, then, and not until then, will this question be settled by this Government as a National policy, and established on a National principle. To use a United States Congress and State legislatures for the purpose of bringing about a reform, while they are, as bodies, unorganized on that question, would be like using a wheat harvester to dig potatoes; there would be no similarity of purpose between the means used and the object in view.

Madison (Wis.) *Weekly Democrat* (Dem.).—The W. C. T. U., and temperance advocates generally, have been laboring with Congress for a number of years to get a joint resolution passed submitting the question of such an amendment to the Constitution to the popular vote. Thus far they have been unsuccessful, and not wholly unsuccessful either, for they have been paving the way, it would seem, for the passage of such a resolution at some, possibly not far distant, day. There is little hope that the present Congress will submit such an amendment, yet it is the right thing to do and the thing that will be done sooner or later. All the signs of the times indicate this.

Highmore (Dak.) *Herald* (Rep.).—There is no good reason why the question should not be submitted to the several States for a hearing. The principal opposition to such an amendment comes from the vicious classes from foreign countries who are not in sympathy with our institutions. Certainly an American people ought to have a chance to say what our Constitution shall be in regard to such a vital question as the abolishment of the liquor traffic.

Holdrege (Neb.) *Progress* (Rep.).—Petitions upon petitions have been showered in upon Congress in favor of the submission of this important question. The *Progress* takes the same stand upon this proposition that it did upon the submission of the question by the State Legislature. When any considerable number of people express a desire to vote upon any political question it should be granted. To deny this is to subvert the Republican form of government.

We are in favor of it also because we believe that nothing short of National constitutional prohibition will effectually suppress the liquor traffic; because States adopting prohibition will be hampered and thwarted in their efforts of suppression by border States where the traffic is legalized, and by the National guarantees of protection to transportation and the rights of manufacture and sale.

We do not believe, however, that it would be policy to submit the question to the whole nation at present, before the high license craze has had its run. Here in Nebraska, where it has had a thorough test, it is acknowledged a miserable failure as either a restrictive or reformatory measure against the liquor traffic. But by the time it passes the ordeal of the lower house, with its large Democratic vote, the nation will be ready for it. So we say, "God speed the movement."

Reform, the Scandinavian paper of Eau Claire, Wis. (Pro.).—In spite of the defeats, which the prohibition movement recently has suffered, we might as well admit, that a majority of the best men in the country understand the bad influence of the drink traffic both in moral and economical wealth—for society and the individual as well. That the common wish to banish the saloon, as a necessary remedy, is more and more taking possession of their minds, is best seen by the always growing agitation in this respect.

Meanwhile, so long as the enemies of the saloon will not unite and agree upon how to get rid of it in the best way, nothing but defeats can be expected, and for every defeat the saloon-power will triumph and shake its political head. There is nothing unnatural in this; while the physicians are quarreling about the right remedy, their patient may sink and perhaps die. The temperance people have treated their patient as quacks. Instead of treating an old, radical disease in a radical way, they have experimented in all possible ways and means. The scientific treatment of driving out of the system that which causes the disease, has but lately come into their minds.

This old disease of society may be compared with any other chronic disease; it must be taken out of the system, both root and sprout, if health shall be regained, because as long as there is anything left, or if it only is driven from one part of the body to another, it will always know how to find nourishment—and surely some day break out again. We have just got a lesson in this from the late campaign in Pennsylvania, where the amendment was snowed down by a large majority on account of the new Brooks license law supported by fraud and political prejudice. It is now established as a fact, that this law was passed in order to kill prohibition, and as soon as the campaign was over in favor of the saloon, their flag of treason was hoisted, the new Brooks law was declared unconstitutional—and the temperance people of Pennsylvania still have the saloon with all its degradation and death as ever before. Never was a people more thoroughly cheated, and right here is a problem for the “wise” temperance people who up to this date never believed in prohibition, to solve.

But the problem is solved—the poison must be driven out of the system through National constitutional prohibition of the drink traffic. Some less radical means might for a short time relieve, but never cure, and a reaction may always happen.

We believe that there is in this grand Nation a majority who, with anxiety, see the increasing bad influence of the traffic and the growing political power of the saloon, and who easily could put a stop to it, when they can learn to use the right remedy.

The Western Good Templar (Milwaukee, Wis.).—The question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic has entered the halls of Congress, and has become the subject of agitation in the National Congress. In our opinion this (to some) troublesome question will never leave that august body until prohibition shall have become an established fact in all this land. A bill looking to engrafting an amendment to the Constitution of the United States was introduced by Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, some years ago. The bill is re-introduced in each succeeding Congress, and is referred to the appropriate committee. Numberless petitions favoring its adoption constantly pour in. Every temperance organization in the land, and most of the churches, join in the movement. . . . We desire *The Western Good Templar* and the order it advocates to be known as ardently advocating National constitutional prohibition.

Inkster (Dak.) *Tribune* (Rep.).—That report is sound American doctrine. If the people are to rule, they must have a chance to decide questions which agitate the country.

Miami Helmet, (Piqua, O.—Rep.).—If the people of this great country want this inserted in their fundamental law, there is no reason why it should not be done, but every good reason why it should. What good has the drink traffic ever done one single individual out of our 65,000,000? Can anybody point to even one benefit?

On the other hand, what infinite, untold, inconceivable injury has it accomplished! No tongue could tell it; no pen, not even of an angel, could write it. Eternity alone can reveal it, and it will take all of the ages of eternity to do it. Why, then, should it not be crushed by the Constitution itself, by the fiat of the people? We trust that the good work will go on till no one shall be found to make, or sell, or use the accursed stuff.

The Northwestern Mail and the *Wisconsin Prohibitionist*.—The question is asked again and again by honest temperance workers, “Why is National constitutional prohibition necessary?” The best answer comes from the series of State amendments lately defeated. It may be safely

stated that every State in which a State amendment has been defeated contains a majority of anti-saloon men. But in every case our scattered forces, our *State* forces, were met by the entire organized *National* force of the enemy. Like McClellan at Antietam, we attacked in "dribbles," while the enemy met and easily defeated us at every point. What we must have is *National* force to meet *National* force. Any threatened evil of State rights usurped can be satisfactorily settled, or our Nation lacks the statesmen she has always found ready to pilot her through troublous times.

Spring Lake (Dak.) Star.—We see no reason why Congress should not pass such a resolution and then let the people of the United States take a vote upon it. If ratified by two-thirds of the States, it would then become a law. It would be the most effectual way to work prohibition, in fact, the only way to get at it.

Cape May (N. J.) Wave (Neu.).—Let the people have a chance to vote upon the subject.

The Union Worker (Organ of the Nebraska W. C. T. U.).—*The Union Worker* most fully indorses the action of the Nebraska Legislature in submitting a prohibitory amendment to the vote of the people,—as also that of the various other States which have done the same thing. We do not share in the faithless belief of some, that prohibition has received a death-blow by the defeat of the amendment in those States. On the contrary, it has aroused the people more thoroughly than ever before to the firm grasp which the hated rum power has upon the vitals of our country, and the unscrupulous methods of this, the worst foe with which we have to deal. No, prohibition is not dead, even in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, as the rum fiend will discover ere long. We would much rather see the question submitted and defeated, than not have it submitted at all. The same may be said of an amendment to the National Constitution. All the arguments in favor of State amendments apply with equal force to the National Constitution. We most heartily commend the action of the United States Senate Committee on Education in reporting favorably a bill to submit a prohibitory amendment to a vote of the States. Aside altogether from the great value of the amendment, such a vote is a privilege which the people have a right to demand. The people of the Nation have the same right to vote on an amendment to the National Constitution that the people of a State have to vote on a State constitution. We say, give them the privilege of exercising this right.

The Journal (McKeesport, Pa.—Pro.).—The defeat of the amendment in several States is fast hastening the campaign for National prohibition, and when this measure comes before the Nation, the liquor power will find that their money and influence will avail but little, for it will be so scattered. In State campaigns the whisky ring could and did concentrate their funds and work, but when it comes to meeting the issue Nationally, they will have more territory than they can manage and control. In canvassing for our State amendment we found voters unwilling to vote on the State issue, claiming that it was useless to adopt prohibition in one State while the adjoining State had license or free whisky, and that nothing short of National prohibition would do any good. They promised hearty support when the question should be submitted to the United States. We believe in going to the fountain head of the stream and cleansing it, and National prohibition will receive our aid and best work.

The *York (Neb.) Star* (Pro.).—The question being submitted in the different States at widely different times enables our enemy, the legalized liquor traffic, to concentrate their entire force and beat us in detail; but with a general movement all along the line at the same time, enables us to meet them on equal terms. There can then be no concentration of forces, in money or workers, in any one State. At best, State prohibition is only local option on a larger scale: The local option law rigidly enforced only drives the liquor dealers out of the community, while State prohibition, as in Iowa and Kansas, on our east and south, drives the outlawed dealers from their States to the asylum found in Nebraska, protected by our high-license laws.

If we had a National prohibitory law and an efficient party to see that it was properly enforced, the lawless element from one community or State could not move into a neighboring city or State so as to control its laws, but would be held in check by laws enacted by their own town or State.

With a National law, liquor could not be shipped from one State into another in defiance of State enactments. That the people of the United States are being awakened on this subject may be inferred from the fact that over ten millions of people have joined in petitions to Congress asking that such a bill be passed as to allow the States to vote upon the subject, and there is no just reason why the States should not be allowed to vote on the question.

Lockesburg (Ark.) *Tocsin* (Dem.).—The most important step that has been taken toward suppressing this evil is the proposition for submitting a proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States prohibiting the liquor traffic. Many petitions signed by thousands of people have gone forward urging the submission of the proposition. That it is right to submit this question to the people there is no doubt, and we can heartily indorse the proposition. That is the only fair and just way to get the matter before the people in order that a full and free expression of their will may be had. If all temperance people *vote* as they *talk*, and all church members carry out their vows to their God, there is no doubting the success of the proposition. The question will come before the people in a non-partisan shape. Republicans, Democrats, and all others who favor temperance can vote together on this great question.

Potter County (Dak.) *Anchor* (Ind.).—The *Aberdeen News* advocates the submission of a prohibition amendment to the National Constitution. The *Anchor* advocates that, too.

The *Antelope* (Neb.) *Tribune* (Pro.).—The time is fully ripe for National prohibitory amendment work. There are many who believe that local and State work is futile while Uncle Sam upholds the traffic. Let it be outlawed by an amendment to the National Constitution and the deputy-marshals will make even bootleg transactions as risky as the present sale without Government permit. It is time to work earnestly for National prohibition. That is the ultimate object of all consistent Prohibitionists, and we may as well strike for it at once.

The Anchor (Organ of the W. C. T. U. of North Carolina).—Intelligence is all that our people lack in order to indorse with the ballot that which Congress can, and surely will, submit to the States at an early day. May the All-Wise Father hasten the day when we have our next amendment to the Federal Constitution. May His Spirit move upon the hearts of the people until when prohibition be submitted to the suffrage of the people, we can rejoice in National prohibition reigning supreme throughout our borders.

Newaygo (Mich.) *Tribune* (Ind.).—Conceding the improbability of the Senate and House agreeing to such submission (although their duty to do so is abundantly shown in the report), yet the mere fact of a favorable report on such a sweeping measure, and the discussion consequent thereon can not fail to be of great advantage to the cause of prohibition.

Sheldon (Dak.) *Enterprise* (Rep.).—Surely the best way to deal with the prohibition question. By all means let the question be submitted as a constitutional amendment.

The Organizer (Organ of the Indiana W. C. T. U.).—The report of the Senate Committee on Senator Blair's joint resolution for a Constitutional Prohibitory Amendment is itself full of encouragement, showing as it does how the tide of public sentiment in favor of prohibitory legislation is rising, compelling respectful consideration of the highest legislative body in the land, and demanding the privilege of exercising the people's right to say whether the liquor traffic shall longer exist.

The Temperance Record (Hyde Park, Mass.).—This law, *prohibition*, which is the ground of all law—"Thou shalt not do evil,"—is the only course open for the suppression of the liquor traffic. Men may be beguiled as much as they please by the sophistries of interested parties, or by their own appetites, yet there are few but know in their hearts that nothing but prohibition can be effective, *and especially is this true of the rumseller himself.*

This question is becoming a more and more disturbing influence in politics, and it will not down until it is settled, and settled right. Prohibition must be the aim of all earnest workers,—prohibition, not for the State alone, but for the Nation.

The best way to accomplish this is by continuing the agitation for constitutional amendments. The constitution of every State and of the United States should contain an article forever forbidding the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage, accompanied by sufficient legislation to enforce it.

This we feel assured will be the final outcome of the movement whose proportions have attained such magnitude and are increasing constantly.

Was body slavery an evil—a crime? It almost sinks into insignificance beside this vaster, more atrocious crime—the slavery of soul and body. Has the prohibition of the former found place in the Constitution of the United States? So much the more should the prohibition of the latter then find a place.

To those who clamor for the removal of this burning question from politics we say: "Put prohibition into the Constitution, back it by appropriate laws, and you have forever removed it from the realm of politics, and it can be done in no other way."

To those temperance workers who feel discouraged at the apparent reverses we have met with, we say: "Work on! work on! Be of good courage, the cause is gaining. Every defeat but brings the day of final triumph nearer. With the Lord one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day."

Lowville (N. Y.) *Times* (Ind.-Rep.).—This recommendation should be promptly accepted by the Senate, and the joint resolution passed by that body. It is the duty of governments to care for and protect their subjects, and there is nothing in which the people need protection so much as from the ravages of the liquor traffic. The Federal Government is strong enough to deal with this question, and give the people the protection they demand, if it will only do it. The report of this committee looks toward such a consummation.

Prohibition Advocate (Baltimore, Md.).—While it may be necessary to continue the fight along State lines for a longer or shorter period, let us not forget that National constitutional prohibition is our ultimate goal. Until we attain this our work will not be accomplished.

W. C. T. U. State Work (Organ of the Wisconsin W. C. T. U.).—A Republican government can not well do otherwise than give the people an opportunity to decide this vital question.

Ord (Neb.) *Quiz* (Rep.).—It is the right of the people that they shall be given a chance to decide this question. We hope to see the question submitted to the jury of the States for their verdict.

Northfield (Minn.) *Independent* (Ind.).—The only use at present of the movement is education and agitation.

Der Deutsch-Amerikaner (Chicago.—Pro.).—A National prohibitory constitutional amendment is an absolute necessity to save our beloved country from degradation and ruin.

The Looking Glass (Monroe, Neb.—Pro.).—This is the aim of all Prohibitionists and the end toward which every consistent temperance work tends. And it meets with more favor from temperance people than any other movement, because it is adequate to the evil, has promise of success, puts an end to all local squabbles, all State jealousies, and arrays the Government against its greatest enemy with the sure promise of success. All other work is preliminary to this and every effort must culminate in such an amendment, and then, and only then, will our country take her stand on a sure basis, leading the world toward the highest type of Christian civilization.

The Kentucky Good Templar.—It is conceded by all intelligent, well-informed people that the traffic in alcoholic beverages is an unmitigated curse. Recognizing it as such, it becomes the duty of the individual citizen to antagonize the traffic, in his person, at his home, in his church, at the polls—anywhere, everywhere, and under all circumstances. It is the duty of Government to antagonize it in the town, in the city, in the county, in the State, in the Nation. Government can only effectively antagonize by prohibitory expression in its organic law, hence we indorse constitutional prohibition as the just, righteous and sensible method of treating the subject.

The Friend of Home (Effingham, Ill.—Pro.).—The bright particular "star" to which we Prohibitionists "hitch our wagon" is constitutional prohibition of the liquor traffic in State and Nation. That is the ultimatum of all our efforts. It is the only certain condition of complete success. It is the only form of prohibition that meets the approval of the best class of our Germans.

Let us, therefore, move on as rapidly as possible, every banner bearing the one battle-cry, Constitutional Prohibition in State and Nation of the traffic in alcoholic beverages.

Rock County (Wis.) *W. C. T. U. Banner*.—It is a National sin—why not National prohibition? No more can nations than individuals transgress God's laws without punishment, and we believe His displeasure is resting upon this nation to-day. The prayers and petitions of several millions of people must and will be recognized, and we have already proven the utter inability of the State to probe deep enough to root out this cancerous difficulty. Thus we are learning more and more that nothing short of National legislation will for any length of time stay the ravages of this rum demon.

The more than Spartan wives, mothers and daughters of this republic are organizing and becoming strengthened for the work, and with the power of woman's love and their faith in the righteousness of this cause and in their divine Master, this agitation will never cease until by National action the curse is removed.

THE FAMOUS "MEMORIAL OF THE AMERICAN HOME FOR PROTECTION FROM THE AMERICAN SALOON."

PRESENTED TO EACH NATIONAL POLITICAL CONVENTION AND
TO CONGRESS IN 1884.

[The *Lever* of Chicago in its issue of March 21, 1888, gave a fac-simile of the memorial which was presented to the Republican Convention, and editorially, in part, said: "One of the most important documents ever written in the interest of our cause is that on our first page, known as the 'Memorial of the American Home for Protection from the American Saloon.' * * * The essence of this memorial is in the fact that it is the prayer of the American Home for Protection from the American Saloon. The American home stands for all that is purest and best, while the American saloon stands for all that is vilest and worst in America. These two institutions are the exact opposites of each other. In proportion as the home is happy and prosperous, the saloon is deserted, while in proportion as the saloon is prosperous the home is deserted. It is as impossible for the saloon and the home to prosper side by side as it is for light and darkness to dwell together in unity. As this memorial well says, the home is the 'citadel of patriotism, purity and happiness,' while the saloon is the 'relentless' enemy of the home. * * * The hour when Miss Willard appeared before the Resolution Committee of the National Republican Convention of 1884 is one which will be long remembered. * * * Miss Willard carried with her to that committee-room memorials from each of the forty-eight States and Territories, all similar to the one she had presented from the National society. These memorials were signed by the officers of the State and Territorial Woman's Christian Temperance Unions from which they came, and represented the sentiments of the very best people of those States and Territories."]

"For God and Home and Native Land."

THE MEMORIAL OF THE AMERICAN HOME FOR PROTECTION FROM THE AMERICAN SALOON.

[N. B.—The following Memorial is to be presented to each National political convention this spring [1884], and to Congress next winter. It is issued under the auspices of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and is strictly non-partisan. It will be presented by a delegation of ladies representing all parts of the United States.]

To the National Convention of the Republican Party.—

We, members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, herein represented by the signatures of our officers, believe that, while the poison habits of the Nation can be largely restrained by an appeal to the intellect through argument, to the heart through sympathy, and to the conscience through motives of religion, the traffic in those poisons will be best controlled by prohibitory law.

We believe the teachings of science, experience and the Golden Rule combine to testify against the traffic in alcoholic liquors as a drink, and that the homes of America, which are the citadels of patriotism, purity and happiness, have no enemy so relentless as the American saloons.

Therefore, as citizens of the United States, irrespective of sect or section, but having deeply at heart the protection of our homes, we do hereby respectfully and earnestly petition you to advocate and to adopt such measures as are requisite, to the end that prohibition of the importation, exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages may become an integral part of the National Constitution.

And that your party candidate shall be by character and public pledge, committed to a National Constitutional Amendment.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, *President.*

C. B. BUELL, *Cor. Secretary.*

MARY A. WOODBRIDGE, *Rec Sec.*

ESTHER PUGH, *Treasurer.*

MISS WILLARD'S ADDRESS.

Miss Willard, in addressing the committee, in part, said :—I am here in no individual character, but as a delegated representative of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of forty-eight States and Territories, including the District of Columbia, to present to your thought the memorial of the American home against the American saloon. You will notice that we make no note of foreign drinking customs, but speak and work directly against an institution which derives its authority from our own Government. Our society is the lineal descendant of that whirlwind of the Lord known as the "Woman's Temperance Crusade" of 1874, and stands not only for total abstinence and prohibition, but for no sectarianism in religion, no sectionalism in politics, no sex in citizenship. We recognize State rights as to the adoption of these principles, but move forward in one grand, solid phalanx—a society as well known in Florida as it is in Oregon by the results of the last ten years' work ; a society that has an open hand for Catholic and Protestant, for the foreign as well as the native born.

We know that in America the great clanging mill of Government, kept in motion at enormous cost, turns out just one product, and that is protection for life and limb and property. But it seems to us women that the citadel of purity, the palladium of liberty, the home, our brothers have forgotten adequately to protect. Therefore I am here to-day to speak on behalf of millions of women, good and true, but grieved and sorrowful, to ask that the guarantees and safeguards of law shall be stripped from the saloons of our country ; that their tarnished gold shall no more pollute our treasury, and that the land we love may at once and forever go out of partnership with the liquor traffic. * * * I have no harsh words to speak of any. The liquor traffic is the awful heritage of a less wise, less kind, and less enlightened past. For its existence in this gentler age we are all more or less responsible.

Let us combine to put it away "with malice toward none, with charity for all." * * * We ask you to declare in favor of submitting to the people a National constitutional amendment for the prohibition of the liquor traffic.

NATIONAL PROHIBITION VERSUS THE HIGH LICENSE AND LOCAL OPTION POLICY.

"A recognized leader of the Republican party, one who stands high in its councils, has a wide reputation, and holds to-day a very important official position, said to us this last week: 'The policy agreed upon and now being carried into effect by Republican leaders is to *compel the present great temperance agitation to crystallize around High License and Local Option, and thus eliminate it as a disturbing question from politics.* The more farsighted of the liquor men *have consented to this policy*, so as to head off prohibition. I speak what I know. I am a believer in the principle of prohibition and wish to see this Republican policy defeated. It must be defeated. Its success will postpone prohibition indefinitely. It can be defeated, in my judgment, only in one way, and that is by fixing public attention upon the necessity for National Prohibition—by insisting upon this and by a determination to be satisfied with nothing less. Make that the political issue, then this agitation will not end until the attitude of the Government, National and State, toward the liquor traffic will be fixed, rightly and permanently fixed. I will help in the effort for National Prohibition, but at present my name is not to be used in this connection. There are those who are recognized leaders in both the old parties, North and South, who stand with me in this determination. When the time comes for us to strike the blow, you will hear from us regardless of what befalls our parties. We believe that a reorganization of the political parties in the near future is a necessity, and the immediate occasion for that reorganization will be National Prohibition.' The day of redemption draweth nigh."—*The Voice*, March 15, 1888.

STRENGTH OF SENTIMENT.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION SUPPORTED BY AN IMMENSE FOLLOWING.

[*The Great Popular Feeling in Behalf of the Principle—The Results of fifteen Constitutional Amendment Struggles—More than 1,600,000 Men Vote for Constitutional Prohibition—Our Enemies Fail to Command a Majority of the Electors—The Hopefulness of the Future Very Clearly Demonstrated.*]

In the table below, the first column shows the vote for constitutional prohibition in each State and Territory named; the second column gives the number of men not voting on the prohibition question at the time of its

submission, this number being estimated in each case by subtracting the total vote for and against prohibition from the total vote cast at the nearest political election; and the third column shows the total vote cast for the chief candidate at the nearest political election.

	<i>For Pro- hibition.</i>	<i>Not voting for or against Prohibition.</i>	<i>Total vote at nearest political election.</i>	
Dakota (1885)	15,570	55,861	86,768	(Cong., '84.)
Iowa (1882)	155,436	10,935	292,048	(Sec'y, '82.)
Kansas (1880)	92,302	24,630	201,236	(Pres., '80.)
Maine (1884)	70,783	47,819	142,413	(Gov., '84.)
Mass. (1889)	86,459	124,973	344,517	(Pres., '88.)
Mich. (1887)	178,636	17,968	380,885	(Gov., '86.)
N. Hamp. (1889)	25,786	34,160	90,922	(Pres., '88.)
N. Car. (1881)	48,061	29,014	241,208	(Pres., '80.)
Ohio (1883)	323,189	154,104	718,268	(Gov., '83.)
Oregon (1887)	19,973	7,023	54,954	(Cong., '86.)
Penn. (1889)	296,617	216,307	997,568	(Pres., '88.)
R. Isl'd (1889)	9,956	4,829	43,100	(Gov., '89.)
Tenn. (1887)	117,504	41,083	303,784	(Pres., '88.)
Texas (1887)	129,270	7,616	357,513	(Pres., '88.)
W. Va. (1889)	41,668	41,317	159,540	(Pres., '88.)
Totals	1,611,300	837,639	4,414,724	

Subtracting the number of prohibition voters and the non-voters from the entire number of voters, we find that the anti-prohibition side of the question was sustained by 1,965,785 men—only 354,722 more than sustained prohibition. That is, the anti-prohibitionists lacked 241,444 votes of a majority. These figures present a phase of the situation that is not generally understood by the people. They show that, despite all the influences operating to defeat the amendments, our opponents constitute not a majority, but a minority of the voters. The force of this truth is especially strong when the returns of the elections in West Virginia, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania are studied.

In West Virginia there were 76,555 votes cast against the prohibitory amendment. But the total Presidential vote last fall was 159,540. Hence our opponents lacked 3,215 votes of a majority.

In New Hampshire the anti-prohibitionists polled 30,976 votes last March—14,486 less than a majority of all the votes cast at the Presidential election of 1888.

In Massachusetts, 133,085 votes were polled against prohibition—39,164 less than a majority.

In Pennsylvania the vote against the amendment was 484,644—13,941 less than a majority.

If the anti-prohibitionists, with the powerful combination of influences that worked in their favor, were unable to control a majority of the voters in these four States, what chance for success will they have when the opportunity comes to make a fair test of public sentiment under conditions

not entirely unfavorable to prohibition? This question can be answered very satisfactorily by referring to the results of the amendment contests that were conducted before the liquor men adopted the methods that proved so potent in the recent campaigns.

When the agitation for constitutional prohibition was begun, the rum-sellers had no conception of the feeling that would be developed in its favor. They laughed at the idea. They supposed that it would be supported by only a few thousands of extremists. They formed no effective organizations, circulated little or no literature, and took no pains to spread the views of respectable and disinterested opponents of the policy. Nevertheless, they offered a general resistance, used their henchmen as poll-workers and had the favor (not in many instances very outspoken, however,) of the press and the leading politicians. On the other hand, the Prohibitionists had earnest supporters but imperfect organizations and meagre funds. Conditions for and against the amendments in these early fights were very nearly evenly balanced, and the results were as shown in the following table :

	—Prohibition.—	
	Yes.	No.
Kansas (1880)	92,302	84,304
North Carolina* (1881)	48,061	164,133
Iowa (1882)	155,436	125,677
Ohio (1883)	323,189	240,975
Maine (1884)	70,783	23,811
Dakota (1885)	15,570	15,337
Rhode Island (1886)	15,113	9,230
Totals	720,454	663,467
Prohibition majority	56,987	
“ “ (omitting North Carolina) . . .	173,059	

After the Rhode Island election of 1886 the liquor men began to realize that it was not safe to despise the prohibition sentiment. They organized the National Protective Association in the fall of that year, and from then forward new tactics were used in every non-partisan prohibition struggle. These tactics reached perfection in the Pennsylvania struggle, when, according to the *Philadelphia Press* (a paper not friendly to Prohibition), a round million of dollars was expended to defeat prohibition. *The Voice*, in many elaborate articles, has fully described the methods resorted to by the liquor men.—*The Voice*, July 11, 1889.

ORIGIN STATE CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

[From “*The Constitutional Prohibitionist*,” compiled by J. N. Stearns.]

The movement for a prohibitory constitutional amendment originated in the Order of the Sons of Temperance of Eastern New York in 1856. The Court of Appeals had just decided the prohibitory law of the State uncon-

*The large liquor majority in North Carolina was caused by the faultiness of the proposed amendment, which was not satisfactory to the temperance people. Besides, the Republican leaders (as admitted by Hon. D. L. Russell last year) threw the negro vote solidly for rum.

stitutional, and Wm. H. Armstrong, Esq., then chief officer of the Order, conceived the idea of a constitutional amendment, recommended it to the Grand Division in January, 1857, and it received unanimous indorsement.

The *Daily Times* of January 19, 1857, in an editorial, said :

The G. W. P.'s report contained a strong recommendation of an effort to introduce a prohibitory provision into the State Constitution by amendment. This plan was urged as being an appeal directly to the people, to be decided by them by ballot, after the amendment shall have passed one Legislature, and been again passed by the succeeding Legislature, chosen after three months' publication of the amendment (*vide* State Const., Art. 13). That if the proposed amendment shall pass such an ordeal, the sovereign people thus determining thrice in its favor, the moral effect will be such as to insure the enforcement of the provision ; and, on its good fruits showing themselves on every hand, the popularity of prohibition will become universal, and the blessings of freedom from the evils of intemperance will become perpetual in this State. It is not proposed, during the slow progress of this amendment, to intermit any efforts for relief in the meantime ; but the G. W. P. urged that no remedy will be effective until the Constitution is itself made prohibitive.

The Grand Division at four different sessions approved and advocated the passage of the amendment, and other organizations also gave it their indorsement.

The following prohibitory amendment was introduced into the Legislature of 1860-61 (see New York *Tribune* of April 9, 1860) :

Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the Constitution of the State be amended as follows :

"The sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage is hereby prohibited, and no law shall be enacted or be in force after the adoption of this amendment to authorize such sale, and the Legislature shall by law prescribe the necessary fines and penalties for any violation of this provision."

Resolved (if the Assembly concur), That the foregoing amendment be referred to the Legislature to be chosen at the general election of senators, and that, in conformity to Section 1 of Article 13 of the Constitution, it be published for three months previous to the time of such election.

It was reported upon favorably by the appropriate committees of each House. From the Senate Committee's report, submitted April 6, 1860, we make the following extract :

It is, by the concurrent resolutions reported by your committee, proposed to submit this whole question to the people, from whom all power emanates, and as a majority decide, so let it be determined ; and it is believed that, if a full and fair discussion of the question be had before the people, that the decision will be in favor of the amendment proposed ; and when that decision is made it should be final, and not left to changeable legislation ; and, therefore, it is proposed by the amendment reported to engraft it into the Constitution and make it a part of the organic law. Your committee believe that the plan proposed by them is a proper one to remedy the evil. After it shall have received the sanction of this Legislature, and the Legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, it will be submitted to the people, it is hoped, at a special election, where it will be decided upon its own issue and merits, unmingled with any political issues or considerations, leaving the people free to vote upon this question, irre-

spective of party ; this question has already embarrassed political parties too long, and should be removed therefrom by the mode proposed.

That the amendment proposed in the resolutions herewith reported shall receive the full and candid consideration of the Senate, and such action taken thereon as shall redound to the honor and glory of the State and the best interests of the people, is the sincere desire of the committee.

The amendment was adopted in the Senate of the State of New York on the 13th of March, 1861, by a vote of 20 to 6, all the Republicans and one Democrat voting in the affirmative, and all the other Democrats voting in the negative, and by the Assembly 69 to 33 on the 5th of April, 1861.

This was officially advertised according to law in the daily papers of the time by the clerks of the Senate and Assembly.

Mr. Armstrong, in writing upon this subject, says :

It will be observed that the last step was its passage by the State Assembly on the 5th of April, 1861. Alas! that it was that date ; for in seven days thereafter the cannon-shot fired at Fort Sumter not only ushered in the great war of the Rebellion, but shattered the fair prospects of the consummation of the first prohibitory constitutional amendment ever passed by the Legislature of any State.

It is needless to show how the civil war prevented all further successful consideration of the subject ; and when the war was over, the demoralization induced by it, on the subject of liquor-drinking, prevented any success for years afterward.

PART II.

PLAN OF CANVASS FOR NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

NATIONAL PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT COMMITTEES.

The canvassing for National Constitutional Prohibition is to be conducted by committees to be called National Prohibitory Amendment Committees.

These committees for local canvassing are to be composed of representatives of the various prohibition organizations in a canvassing district consisting of one school district, except in large cities, where the school district may be divided into several canvassing districts.

The Congressional canvassing is to be conducted by a committee consisting of the General Officers of the National Prohibition societies of the United States, the General Officers of the National Executive Committee of the Prohibition party, and the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions. The National Prohibition societies include the following, viz.:

- National Woman's Christian Temperance Union.
- National Temperance Society.
- Right Worthy Grand Lodge, I. O. G. T.
- National Division Sons of Temperance of North America.
- Supreme Council Templars of Honor and Temperance.
- Supreme Council Royal Templars of Temperance.
- National Anti-Nuisance League.
- National Inter-Collegiate Prohibition Association.
- National Young Men's Prohibition League.
- National Prohibition Press Association.
- National Junior Prohibitionists.
- National German-American Prohibition League.

The State Legislative canvassing, after proposal of the amendment for securing its ratification, is to be conducted by committees consisting of the General Officers of each State Prohibition societies, the General Officers of the State Executive Committee of the Prohibition party, and the State W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

WORK OF NATIONAL PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT COMMITTEES.

Committee work is classed under two general heads, viz.:

First.—Before proposal of the Amendment.

Second.—After proposal of the Amendment.

Under the first general head the work is subdivided into seven distinct branches, the first six to be carried on by local committees and the seventh by a National committee, viz.:

1. Registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists.
2. Congressional petition work.
3. Public discussions.
4. Press work.
5. Distribution of literature.
6. Reporting local work to prohibition organizations.
7. Congressional canvassing and reports.

Under the second general head the work is subdivided into two distinct branches, the first to be carried on by the local committees and the second by the State committee, the former local work as far as applicable being continued, viz.:

1. State legislative petition work.
2. State legislative canvassing.

HOW TO ORGANIZE NATIONAL PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT COMMITTEES.

I.—N. P. A. COMMITTEES FOR LOCAL WORK.

The local work is to be carried on in school districts. The territory to be canvassed by any one committee may be called its canvassing district.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union having made this amendment a special line of work, having county and district as well as local and State organizations through which to carry it on, and having a suitable department, that of Legislation and Petitions, ready to do its bidding, the initiatory steps for the organization of these committees and the responsibility for executing a part of the system of official reporting are committed to its care.

Where there is more than one Woman's Christian Temperance Union in any school district, the Superintendents of Legislation and Petitions and their Assistant Superintendents, should either carry on together their part of the work, or should divide it among them, dividing anew as other Unions are organized. Large cities having but one school district, may be divided into several canvassing districts.

In towns and country school districts having no Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the county Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions and her Assistant Superintendents will carry on the W. C. T. U. part of the

committee work until a W. C. T. U. has been organized in that town or district. The appointment of one or more Assistant Superintendents in each of such towns or districts would make the work easy.

In counties without a county W. C. T. U., the part of the work assigned to the W. C. T. U. will be performed by the District or State Department of Legislation and Petitions until county organizations are established.

The initiatory steps for organizing a National Prohibitory Amendment Committee for local work, are as follows :

The proper Department of Legislation and Petitions, under direction of the W. C. T. U., should secure a copy of the National Prohibitory Amendment Guide for each of the other prohibition organizations in the Canvassing District, and secure a temporary place of meeting, and then address each prohibition organization in substance as follows :

FORM OF LETTER TO PROHIBITION ORGANIZATIONS ASKING APPOINTMENT
OF REPRESENTATIVES TO SERVE ON N. P. A. COMMITTEES FOR
LOCAL WORK.

To the

Greeting : In accordance with the plan contained in the National Prohibitory Amendment Guide, a copy of which is herewith presented, the undersigned representatives of the W. C. T. U. respectfully ask the appointment of two (or more) members of your society (Lodge, League, Club, Association, Bureau or Union) to act with a like number of representatives of each of the other prohibition organizations of this school district (or of the and wards) as a National Prohibitory Amendment Committee for local work. A meeting of the representatives to organize the Committee and apportion the work will be held in , on , 18 . . . , at . . . o'clock P. M.

Truly yours,

Supt. Legislation and Petitions, W. C. T. U.

Ass't Supt. Legislation and Petitions, W. C. T. U.

The above communication should be sent to the Secretaries of the respective organizations, and at least two weeks' notice should be given of time of meeting.

Should any organization fail to appoint representatives before the meeting takes place, a sub-committee should be appointed to communicate further with such organization and urge the appointment of representatives.

The organizations appointing should furnish the W. C. T. U. representatives with the names of their representatives, and each representative should be personally notified of every subsequent meeting, by the Secretary of the Committee.

Appoint a sub-committee on public discussions and press work to assume the charge of these branches of the work.

II.—N. P. A. COMMITTEE FOR CONGRESSIONAL WORK.

Immediate organization of the Committee for Congressional work is not practicable, but immediate commencement of the work is necessary.

Until the organization of the committee, the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions will act as its temporary chairman.

Organization may be effected at the National Capital the day preceding the next hearing on the Amendment before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, the committee to which the amendment is referred by the Senate.

The temporary Chairman, immediately following the first publication of the *Guide*, will notify each of the general officers of the several National Prohibition organizations of his or her membership on the committee, sending to each a copy of the *Guide*.

She will secure appointments of "hearings" before the Committees of Congress to which the amendment is referred, and secure a place of meeting for organizing the committee, and notify each member of the committee of these arrangements as soon as effected.

III.—N. P. A. COMMITTEES FOR STATE LEGISLATIVE WORK.

Committees for State Legislative work need not be organized until after proposal of the amendment. But as soon as the proposition has been submitted, this work should begin. Any number of members of the Committee, meeting at the State Capital in response to the call to organize, may effect organization. The call will be sent to the general officers of each State Prohibition Organization by the State W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions. She will address each, in substance, as follows, viz. :

FORM OF CALL TO ORGANIZE STATE LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES.

The National Prohibitory Amendment having been proposed to the States for ratification, I therefore, as required by the National Prohibitory Amendment Guide, hereby call the members of the Legislative Committee of this State to meet in, at the State Capital, on 18—, at . o'clock, P. M., to organize. The full membership of the Committee consists of the General Officers of the State Prohibition societies, the General Officers of the State Executive Committee of the Prohibition party, and the State W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

Truly yours,

State W. C. T. U. Supt. Legislation and Petitions.

BEFORE PROPOSAL OF THE AMENDMENT.

GENERAL DIRECTIONS TO N. P. A. COMMITTEES FOR LOCAL WORK.

TO SECRETARIES OF N. P. A. COMMITTEES FOR LOCAL WORK.—Each Secretary will require a large blank book for recording the part of the canvass preceding proposal of the Amendment. It may be called the General Register, and should be large enough to use until June, 1892. Within this time we may reasonably expect the Amendment to be submitted to the States for ratification.

To determine its thickness, estimate a line to each of one-half of the citizens over sixteen years of age in the canvassing district, and allow for increase in population and for minors who will reach sixteen before June, 1892. Use the number of pages this amounts to for copying the names of National Constitutional Prohibitionists from the canvassing registers of the several committeemen. Then add to the size of the blank book twenty-four more pages. Use these for the index, for registering the committee from year to year, and for records of representative petitions to Congress, public discussions, press work and distribution of literature.

Should any division of the general register give out, begin another book with the overflow. Call the new book the supplement of the old.

The width of the general register will need to be at least that of foolscap paper in order to conveniently make use of the given forms.

Employ the first page of the general register for the index, using the following form :

NO. I.

FORM OF INDEX.

	PAGE.
N. P. A. Committee for Local Work	
National Constitutional Prohibitionists :	
Men	
Women	
Minors over sixteen	
Representative petitions to Congress	
Public Discussions :	
Sermons advocating the N. P. A.	
Addresses advocating the N. P. A.	
Anti N. P. A. sermons	
Anti N. P. A. addresses	
Press Work	
Distribution of literature	

On the second page of the general register enroll the committee for the current year. Leave the next two pages for continuing the record. Use the following form :

NO. 2.

FORM OF ENROLLING N. P. A. COMMITTEES FOR LOCAL WORK.

National Prohibitory Amendment Committee for Local Work of . . .
 for the year 18—.

<i>Prohibition Organizations.</i>	<i> Names of Representatives.</i>	<i> Residence</i>	<i>Address.</i>
-----------------------------------	------------------------------------	--------------------	-----------------

On the fifth page of the general register begin the registration of National Constitutional Prohibitionists, using form No. 4. This form consists of three parts—names of men, women, and minors, to be kept separate. (See pages 79 and 80.)

On the twentieth page from the last of the general register begin the record of representative petitions to Congress. Leave the next three pages for continuing the record. Use the following form:

NO. 3.

RECORD OF REPRESENTATIVE PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

(Under "Purpose of Assemblage," state whether regular weekly or monthly meeting, annual convention or conference, etc.)

<i>Name of Organization.</i>	<i> Purpose of Assemblage.</i>	<i> Date of Resolution.</i>	<i> Membership.</i>	<i> Presiding Officer.</i>	<i> Secretary.</i>
------------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------------	---------------------

On the sixteenth page from the last of the general register begin the record of public discussions. Use the fifteenth and sixteenth pages from the end for recording sermons advocating the Amendment, and the next five pages for recording addresses in advocacy of it. Use the following page for recording anti N. P. A. sermons, and the next two pages for recording anti N. P. A. addresses. The form of keeping this record is given on page 89.

On the sixth page from the last of the general register begin the record of press work, continuing the record on the next three pages. The form of keeping this record is given on page 91.

Use the two last pages of the general register for the record of distribution of literature. The form of keeping this record is given on page 92.

Have the writing in a bold, round hand so as to be easily read. Rule with red ink.

In changing the limits of canvassing districts, transfer names of National Constitutional Prohibitionists from one general register to that of another, as the changed limits may make necessary. Draw a light red line through names to be erased on account of transference. Under "Remarks," whether names are erased or added, write, using red ink: *Transferred on account of changed limits of canvassing district.*

The canvassing registers of committeemen are to be left with the secretary of the committee on the first Monday of every month. From these the secretary will copy the names of National Constitutional Prohibitionists enrolled during the month.

The secretary should return the canvassing registers to the several committeemen on the following Wednesday, thus retaining them but two days. The work of committeemen being suspended during the time they are withheld, they ought not to be kept for a longer period.

On the first Monday of every month the sub-committee on public discussions and press work, should report to the secretary the work done in these branches of the canvass during the month, for recording in the general register.

The sub-committee on public discussions and press work should have access weekly to the general register to glean therefrom facts of interest to the public growing out of the canvass, for reporting to the press.

Don't include in reports, names marked "removed," "deceased," or "name withdrawn."

Number of names enrolled and on popular petitions forwarded to Congress, or State Legislature, should tally in reports. Ascertain monthly from committeemen, when they leave their canvassing registers, that the names on petitions and in canvassing registers are alike. It is expected that canvassing registers will not be left with the secretary until they are alike.

TO INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF N. P. A. COMMITTEES FOR LOCAL WORK.—The first requisite is a canvassing register, properly ruled, for recording the work done by you. It should be furnished by the committee and remain the property of the committee.

The ruling should be done by the secretary of the committee, to insure uniformity.

In ruling, forms No. 2 and No. 4 are to be used. Your names should appear on the cover of your respective canvassing registers, instead of in the space designated under form No. 4. Otherwise insert in canvassing registers as given in the form.

In registering names of National Constitutional Prohibitionists, enroll no one not a resident of your canvassing district.

Each person is to be registered but once, in the same canvassing district, during the entire campaign. Should a person become registered twice, erase one of the signatures by drawing a light red line through it. Under "remarks" write the word *duplicated*, using red ink.

In taking names, caution each person against enrolling again in that canvassing district. At the same time request the person, if he or she should remove to another canvassing district before the end of the campaign, to register therein in order to be counted, as the registration in the canvassing district removed from will be erased.

After taking the name of a person who has registered in another canvassing district and removed therefrom, notify the secretary of the canvassing district where the former registration took place of the new registration. If you do not know the name of the secretary, address: *Secretary of the N. P. A. Committee for Local Work*. Secure the name of a prominent

Prohibitionist residing at the place the person removed from to send the letter in care of.

Leave your canvassing register with the secretary of the committee on the first Monday of every month for his or her use in copying names of National Constitutional Prohibitionists secured during the month.

Before depositing your canvassing register with the secretary, as directed above, compare the names of National Constitutional Prohibitionists registered therein, secured during the month, with the names appearing on the popular petitions to Congress, secured also during the month. The names on the two petitions—one for the Senate and the other for the House of Representatives—and in the canvassing register, should tally, one with the other. If they do not, have the necessary corrections made. Make known to the secretary that they tally.

The secretary is directed to return your canvassing register on the following Wednesday, thus retaining it but two days.

TO SUB-COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS AND PRESS WORK.—You are to have charge of these two branches of the work. For specific directions and forms of reports, look under their respective headings.

On the first Monday of every month make a report to the secretary, of work done during the month in these branches, for insertion in the general register.

The secretary is directed to give you access weekly to the general register, for gleaning therefrom facts of interest to the public, growing out of the canvass, to report to the press.

REGISTERING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITIONISTS.

The registering of National Constitutional Prohibitionists is the basis of the canvass. All the other parts either depend upon, or are to subserve this. What is wanted is reliable information as to the number of advocates of the Amendment. And when it has been shown that a majority of citizens of the United States favor proposal and ratification of the Amendment, it will be proposed and ratified. National and State legislators will promptly respond to the expressed wishes of a major part of their constituency. To do otherwise would result, as soon as possible, in relegating them into private life, and the election, in their stead, of truer representatives.

Hence, this branch of the canvass especially should be studied carefully and carried out with conscientious fidelity.

There should be given to each man, woman, or minor over sixteen, opposed to the Amendment, some of the National Prohibitory Amendment leaflets, or other Prohibition literature, answering the objection, or objections, made. Some will object not to National Constitutional Prohibition in particular, but to prohibition in general. To such persons an assortment of the general prohibition literature should be handed, in addition to that

specially prepared for this canvass. After awhile, interview each one again. Keep this up until conversion takes place or the campaign is ended.

The registering of National Constitutional Prohibitionists will be very laborious, especially so in large cities. If, in any canvassing district, committeemen are unable to make a thorough canvass in person, or by free help, arrangements should be made for hiring competent Prohibitionists to assist them.

Below are given the forms for the registration. In connection with these, study carefully the "General Directions to N. P. A. Committees for Local Work," beginning on page 75; also "How to Use the Petitions" in Congressional petition work, beginning on page 82.

NO. 4.

FORM OF REGISTERING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITIONISTS.

National Constitutional Prohibitionists of

MEN.

We, the undersigned, hereby declare ourselves in favor of, and that we will petition for, proposal by Congress and ratification by our State Legislature of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing,

First.—That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage shall be forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

Second.—That Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

(Let Rep. stand for Republican, Dem. for Democrat, Pro. for Prohibitionist, etc. Revise as party relation changes. Under "Remarks" make the following record as the case may require, using red ink: *Removed, Deceased*, or *Name withdrawn*, with date of withdrawal. Through the name draw a light red line. Opposite names transferred from list of minors write in red the word *Transferred*.)

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Date of signature.</i>	<i>Occupation.</i>	<i>Politics.</i>	<i>Committeeman.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
--------------	---------------------------	--------------------	------------------	----------------------	-----------------

NO. 4.—CONTINUED.

FORM OF REGISTERING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITIONISTS.

National Constitutional Prohibitionists of

WOMEN.

We, the undersigned, hereby declare ourselves in favor of, and that we will petition for, proposal by Congress and ratification by our State Legislature of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing,

First.—That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage, shall be forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

Second.—That Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

(Let Rep. stand for Republican, Dem. for Democrat, Pro. for Prohibitionist, etc. Revise as party relation changes. Under "Remarks" make the following record as the case may require, using red ink: *Removed, Deceased, or Name withdrawn* with date of withdrawal. Through the name draw a light red line. Opposite names transferred from list of minors write in red the word *Transferred*.)

Name.	Date of signature.	Occupation.	Politics.	Committeeman.	Remarks.
-------	--------------------	-------------	-----------	---------------	----------

NO. 4.—CONTINUED.

FORM OF REGISTERING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITIONISTS.

National Constitutional Prohibitionists of

MINORS OVER SIXTEEN.

We, the undersigned, hereby declare ourselves in favor of, and that we will petition for, proposal by Congress and ratification by our State Legislature of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing,

First.—That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage, shall be forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

Second.—That Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

(Let Rep. stand for Republican, Dem. for Democrat, Pro. for Prohibitionist, etc. Revise as party relation changes. Under "Remarks" make the following record as the case may require, using red ink: *Removed, Deceased, or Name withdrawn*, with date of withdrawal. Through the name draw a light red line. As minors become of age transfer their names to the proper adult list and write in red opposite the transferred name the word *Transferred*. Also draw a light red line through the name.)

Name.	Date of signature.	Age.	Politics.	Committeeman.	Remarks.
-------	--------------------	------	-----------	---------------	----------

CONGRESSIONAL PETITION WORK.

NO. 5.

FORM OF POPULAR PETITIONS.

PETITION

FOR PROPOSAL OF A

NATIONAL PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT.

(Circulated by committee composed of representatives of the several Prohibition organizations in the of, viz.: W. C. T. U., ...)

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America :

We, the undersigned, citizens of county of , State (or Territory) of earnestly pray that an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States be proposed to the States for ratification, providing,

First.—That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage, shall be forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

Second.—That Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

(Each signer will please write in designated place the word *voter* or *non-voter* as the case may be ; also politics and occupation. Signatures of minors over sixteen are desired.)

Name.	Voter or non-voter.	Politics.	Occupation.
-------	---------------------	-----------	-------------

NO. 6.

FORM OF REPRESENTATIVE PETITIONS.

PETITION

FOR PROPOSAL OF A

NATIONAL PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT.

(Procured by committee composed of representatives of the several Prohibition organizations in the of , viz.: W. C. T. U., ...)

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America :

The in assembled, held in , on the day of 18—, numbering (or representing) members, adopted the following resolution and directed the presiding officer and secretary to sign and transmit it to Congress, viz.:

Resolved, That we earnestly pray Congress to propose to the States for ratification an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing,

First.—That the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage, shall be forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction.

Second.—That Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.

. President (or chairman).

. Secretary.

HOW TO USE THE PETITIONS.

First.—Have the number you will be likely to require of popular petitions, either printed or plainly written. The paper attached for signatures should be neatly ruled and firmly pasted, matching the petition in width. Foolscap paper is a convenient width.

Representative petitions may be written at the time needed for use.

Second.—Use only ink or indelible pencils for writing signatures.

Third.—The signature of each person is desired on two petitions—one for the Senate, the other for the House of Representatives. One will not do for both bodies, as petitions are permanently retained when presented in either body. *Do not copy names.* It is against the rules of Congress to receive memorials or petitions containing copied names.

Canvassers may write the names of persons requesting them so to do.

Married women should sign their own given names.

Fourth.—Care should be taken to have recorded in the designated place on popular petitions after every name whether the signature is that of a *voter* or *non-voter*. The importance of this will be readily seen. Some women are voters, as in Wyoming; and others are likely soon to have full suffrage conferred upon them, as in Kansas.

Only when agreeable to the wishes of the signer need the occupation be given. It is hoped, however, that all signers will be willing to help to complete this very valuable part of the record. Register as *home-keepers* all women who are heads of families either alone or jointly with their husbands, and mainly employed with home duties. A woman hired to take charge of a house is not a home-keeper but a housekeeper. Register as *assistant home-keeper*, a grown daughter living at home and employed mainly in caring for the home. When she has full charge, she is the home-keeper. Register the hired house help as cook, chambermaid, general house work, etc., as the case may be.

Fifth.—Persons may be engaged to assist committeemen in canvassing, but please bear in mind that a great deal depends upon the pleasing manner, the tact, the intelligence of those seeking to gain names to the petition. An apathetic person, one that easily antagonizes others, or one ignorant of the subject of the petition, will only injure the cause.

Sixth.—To be able to plead intelligently, each canvasser should be possessed with the facts and reasons contained in the National Prohibitory Amendment Guide. While canvassing, have a copy at hand.

Seventh.—Circulation of popular petitions for signatures just before the adjournment of Prohibition meetings is not recommended. Usually these meetings are held too long, and the audience ought not to be asked to remain longer. Besides, time for calm reflection after the stirring appeals should be given. But signatures of those known to be in favor of National Prohibition may be obtained by canvassers going quietly and unobtrusively to work while the audience is gathering; and National Prohibitionists of the

canvassing district not enrolled should be requested to remain and register after adjournment.

It is expected that the main part of the work will be done by *personal appeals* made at the home, or place of business, of persons sought to be reached. This way of working gives those opposed to the amendment an opportunity of explaining their opposition, and the canvasser a chance to meet the objections offered, by oral and written argument.

Bear constantly in mind that each name is to be affixed not only to *two* of the petition blanks, but, also, to the canvassing register. Unless the canvasser exercises the closest watchfulness, in moments of excitement one of these signatures will be apt to be omitted, necessitating extra labor.

While registering, each person should be cautioned against enrolling again, as the one enrollment is for the entire campaign.

Eighth.—Committees should secure, or make every effort to secure, the adoption of the resolution embraced in the representative petition, (see page 81) by every association, or convention of clergymen, teachers, physicians, labor organizations, Sabbath-schools, Christian Endeavor societies, etc., which shall meet in their respective canvassing districts before proposal of the amendment. Also by each Prohibition organization once a year.

A preamble to the resolution may be added by bodies so desiring. A preamble would convert the petition into a memorial.

A sub-committee may be deputed to secure representative petitions. Should one be deputed, each petition secured should be immediately reported to the secretary of the committee, so that due record may be made of it in the general register.

Ninth.—The annual date for forwarding petitions to the National Capital is the *second* Monday in December, that is, *one week from the day on which Congress assembles yearly*. On the first Thursday after the first Monday in December of each year, the committee, or sub-committee having this part of the work in charge, should collect the petitions from the several N. P. A. committeemen of the canvassing district and paste them together, clipping off the heads of all except one of each set, thus making two long petitions—one to be presented in the Senate and the other in the House of Representatives.

Before receiving the petitions, carefully compare each one with the canvassing register of the committeeman who circulated it. If an omission occurs in either set of petitions, or any correction is needed, have it attended to. The names of National Constitutional Prohibitionists in the canvassing register and on each of the two sets of petitions, should tally. If they do not, it is the duty of the committeeman to complete the work at once.

Afterwards, transmit petitions from time to time when a score or more additional names are secured, until the adjournment of Congress for the

session. Retain names secured after Congress adjourns for transmitting on the next second Monday in December.

Tenth.—A rule of the United States Senate provides that “every petition or memorial shall be signed by the petitioner or memorialist and have indorsed thereon a brief statement of its contents.” The rules of the House of Representatives contain a similar provision. To conform: *1st.* Send only original signatures—*no copied names.* *2nd.* Send the representative petitions without indorsement to be properly indorsed by the chairman of the N. P. A. Committee for Congressional work. For the indorsement on each popular petition use the subjoined form, No. 7, writing VERY PLAINLY at the *top* of the folded petition, and filling blank spaces. (The next form, No. 8, gives the appearance of a properly indorsed popular petition.)

Eleventh.—When the petitions are ready to be forwarded, send them addressed in the following manner, viz.:

*Chairman N. P. A. Committee for Congressional Work,
Washington, D. C.*

Word will be left at the Washington postoffice as to where to deliver mail matter addressed as above.

The Chairman of the N. P. A. Committee for Congressional work will have a record made of the petitions for use in the campaign. The two from each canvassing district will then be handed—one to a Senator from the State, and the other to the Member of the House of Representatives from the Congressional District in which the canvassing district is situated. Petitions from the Territories, intended for the Senate, will be handed for presenting to Senators from States adjoining the respective Territories, or to the Chairman of the Committee to which the petitions will be referred. Those for the House of Representatives will be handed to the Delegate from the Territory the petitions are from.

 *Letter postage will be required to send the petitions.*

NO. 7.

FORM OF INDORSEMENT ON POPULAR PETITIONS.

Petition of citizens (— voters and — non-voters), of
 , county of , State (or Territory) of ,
 praying for proposal of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing that “the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage shall be forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction”, and “that Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation.”

NO. 8.

APPEARANCE OF PROPERLY INDORSED POPULAR PETITION.

(At least two inches of space must be left at the bottom of the indorsement for the signature of the Congressman who presents the petition in Congress, and for the name of the Committee to which it is to be referred.)

Petition of 324 citizens (81 voters and 243 non-voters), of the first ward, city of Lincoln, county of Lancaster, state of Nebraska, praying for proposal of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing that "the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage shall be forever prohibited in the United States and in every place subject to their jurisdiction," and that "Congress shall enforce this article by all needful legislation."

PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS.

It is expected hereafter that the subject of National Constitutional Prohibition will enter largely into all prohibition addresses, by whomsoever made.

It is expected, also, that all clergymen who believe in National Constitutional Prohibition will advocate it frequently in both pulpit and prayer-meeting. If they do not speak on the subject as often as desired, the sub-committee having charge of this branch of the work, should ask for more frequent reference.

Said sub-committee, also, should ask each speaker on prohibition to *dwell* on this phase of the question.

The committee should supply every clergyman of the canvassing district with a copy of the National Prohibitory Amendment Guide. Also with copies of the several kinds of leaflets especially prepared for this canvass. These leaflets state the various reasons for, and answer the common objections against National Constitutional Prohibition.

The campaign in each canvassing district should begin with a rousing public meeting in church or hall, which should be beautifully decorated for the occasion. The meeting should be addressed by the General Officers of the Prohibition organizations of the canvassing district; also by clergymen and other prominent Prohibitionists, as many as the allotted time will allow. The chairman of the committee should preside and its secretary should act as secretary of the meeting. The subjoined *résumé* of the canvass should be read by either the chairman or secretary, immediately following the opening exercises. Call the attention of persons engaged to address the meeting to this *résumé*, so that the scope of the canvass may be fully appreciated by each speaker.

It is a part of the work of the sub-committee on public discussions and press work to keep a record of sermons and addresses which advocate, and, also, of those which oppose the Amendment, for incorporation into monthly and semi-annual reports. In keeping such record the subjoined form is to be used.

RESUME OF THE CANVASS.

The object of the canvass is to obtain an Amendment to the National Constitution, forever prohibiting in the United States, and in every place subject to their jurisdiction, the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

The plan of canvass is contained in the National Prohibitory Amendment Guide. Its main feature is to register National Constitutional Prohibitionists and to proclaim their number from time to time, as the work progresses, to the law-makers and people in general. At present there is no way of determining their numerical strength.

It is hoped that the footings of this register, in the near future, will indicate that one-half of the adult people of the United States have enlisted in

the war for the extermination of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, and desire that the Constitution shall express the National will on the subject. When this is so shown, it is believed that the amendment will be proposed and ratified.

The canvassing is to be carried on by three classes of National Prohibitory Amendment committees, composed of representatives of the various Prohibition organizations of the United States, viz.:

1. National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for local work.
2. National Prohibitory Amendment Committee for Congressional work.
3. National Prohibitory Amendment Committees for State legislative work.

The representatives on the two last-named committees are to consist of the General Officers of the National or State Prohibition societies, the General Officers of the National or State Executive Committee of the Prohibition party, and the National or State W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

The local canvassing is to be carried on in canvassing districts, each consisting of one school district, except in large cities, where the school district may be divided into several canvassing districts.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union having made this Amendment a special line of work; having county and district as well as local and State organizations through which to carry it on; and having a suitable department, that of Legislation and Petitions, ready to do its bidding,—the initiatory steps for the organization of these committees and the responsibility for executing a part of the system of official reporting are committed to its care.

The canvass is to be carried on simultaneously throughout the entire country.

Committee work is classed under two general heads, viz.:

First—Before proposal of the Amendment.

Second—After proposal of the Amendment.

Under the first general head the work is subdivided into seven distinct branches, the first six to be carried on by local committees and the seventh by the National Committee, viz.:

1. Registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists.
2. Congressional petition work.
3. Public discussions.
4. Press work.
5. Distribution of literature.
6. Reporting local work to Prohibition organizations.
7. Congressional canvassing and reports.

Under the second general head the work is subdivided into two distinct branches, the first to be carried on by the local committees and the second

by the State committees, the former local work as far as applicable being continued, viz.:

1. State legislative petition work.
2. State legislative canvassing.

The expenses of N. P. A. committees for local work are to be met by contributions to the committees from the Prohibition organizations represented on them, by contributions from other sources, and by the efforts of committees put forth in various ways.

In similar ways, the expenses of the other committees are to be borne. Prohibition work already being done, is not to be duplicated.

Under "Public Discussions," the plan is not to engage speakers and arrange for meetings, as that work is being done by the several Prohibition organizations represented on committees, but to request each speaker on prohibition to *dwell* on the National phase, to ask clergymen for frequent reference, and to keep a record of sermons and addresses which advocate, and of those which oppose, this phase. The meeting beginning the canvass is under the auspices of the committee of the canvassing district.

Under "Press Work," facts of general interest growing out of the canvass are to be gleaned and published from week to week, the part of meetings and sermons advocating National Prohibition to be specially reported. The plan includes also the securing inserted in the local press of pointed paragraphs and articles on National Prohibition.

National Prohibitory Amendment leaflets, covering the various reasons for, and answering common objections against, this method of outlawing the poisonous drink traffic, are to be distributed freely.

The system of official reporting provides for monthly and semi-annual reports from N. P. A. committees for local work, and for annual reports from the N. P. A. committee for Congressional work. It also provides for reports of the progress of the canvass, after proposal of the Amendment, from N. P. A. committees for State legislative work. These reports are to be made to the several Prohibition organizations represented on the respective committees. The press is to be furnished with a *résumé* of each report.

In registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists, all are to subscribe to a pledge declaring themselves in favor of the Amendment, and that they will petition for its proposal by Congress and ratification by their respective State Legislatures. At the time of this registration the petitions to Congress are to be signed. Adults and minors over sixteen are to be enrolled. Names of voters and non-voters are to be kept separate. The one registration is to answer for the entire campaign—deaths, removals from the canvassing district, and withdrawal of names, being duly noted. No name is to appear on petitions to Congress not first appearing subscribed in a canvassing register, for retention by the committee.

NO. 9.

RECORD OF PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS.

ADVOCATING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

Sermons.

(When the subject of the sermon is National Constitutional Prohibition, under "Remarks" write the words *specialy advocated*. When unmarked, it will be understood that the subject was *briefly advocated* in the sermon.)

<i>Clergymen.</i>	<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
-------------------	----------------------	--------------	-----------------

Addresses.

(If the general subject of Prohibition received the main treatment and National Constitutional Prohibition but a small part, under "Remarks" write the words *briefly advocated*. If, on the other hand, National Constitutional Prohibition received the main treatment, under "Remarks" write the words *specialy advocated*.)

<i>Speaker.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Who engaged.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
-----------------	-------------------	--------------	---------------------	-----------------

OPPOSING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

Sermons.

(When the subject of the sermon is Anti-National Constitutional Prohibition, under "Remarks" write the words *specialy opposed*. When unmarked, it will be understood that the anti-treatment was *brief*.)

<i>Clergymen.</i>	<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
-------------------	----------------------	--------------	-----------------

Addresses.

(If the general subject of prohibition received the main opposition, and National Constitutional Prohibition but a small part, under "Remarks" write the words *briefly opposed*. If, on the other hand, this phase received the main opposition, under "Remarks" write the words *mainly opposed*.)

<i>Speaker.</i>	<i>Residence.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Who engaged.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
-----------------	-------------------	--------------	---------------------	-----------------

PRESS WORK.

The importance of this phase of the canvass should be fully appreciated and faithfully executed. All facts of general interest growing out of the work should be gleaned and published from week to week. *Bear constantly in mind that there is a large reading public which is usually not a part of the listening public.* Information causes agitation. Agitation will result in converts to our cause. To convert is our aim. Therefore agitate as much as possible through the public print.

Sub-committees on public discussions and press work should promptly report the organization of their respective N. P. A. Committees, stating what Prohibition organizations are represented, and by whom.

They should write up the meeting opening the campaign in their respective canvassing districts. In doing so, describe how the church or hall was decorated for the occasion. Tell who the speakers were and whom they represented. Record the point most emphasized by each. Speak of the attendance and interest manifested.

They should write up the part advocating the Amendment of all other prohibition meetings and of all sermons. In doing so, state under whose auspices held, or the denomination of the clergyman. Give the gist of what was said in each case.

They should send a copy of each one of these reports to the press of the canvassing district, or county, and to the State organs of Prohibition organizations.

The subject written up by the regular newspaper reporters will be presented in connection with the balance of their report. What we want is to have that part of the meeting or sermon reported by itself as well. This belongs to the sub-committee on public discussions and press work, to do. Be brief. Let most of the space be occupied in recording what was said. Considerable information may be imparted in one hundred words if well boiled down. Brief articles are usually read. Lengthy ones are not apt to be, by the average reader, unless on a subject of special interest. In boiling down, don't strip the facts of an attractive garb. Make a pleasing pen picture of the fact told, the thought imparted.

A carefully written article should quickly follow each anti N. P. A. sermon or address, answering the objections offered. Search the National Prohibitory Amendment Guide, and the series of leaflets prepared for the canvass, for answers to the objections.

Sub-committees should secure published pointed paragraphs and articles on National Constitutional Prohibition as often as possible. A large number of these may be selected from the National Prohibitory Amendment Guide, and from the series of leaflets especially prepared for the canvass. Others may be selected from many sources, especially from prohibition newspapers.

They should secure published, also, attractively written, *résûmés* of official reports.

These sub-committees should especially become familiar with the "General directions to N. P. A. committees for local work," beginning on page 75.

No record is to be made of matter secured published in Religious and Prohibition party newspapers.

In recording matter secured published in secular newspapers, other than Prohibition party organs, make use of the following form.

NO. 10.

RECORD OF PRESS WORK.

(Under the words "kind of matter secured published," write *selected matter, canvass gleanings*, or report *résumé*, as the case may be. Under the term "canvass gleanings" include reports of public discussions. Under "Remarks," more specific explanation may be given. Matter secured published in Religious and Prohibition party newspapers, is not to be recorded.)

<i>Name of newspaper.</i>	<i>Politics.</i>	<i>Kind of matter secured published.</i>	<i>Date of its publication.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
---------------------------	------------------	--	---------------------------------	-----------------

DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE.

A line of National Prohibitory Amendment leaflets will be kept for sale, during the canvass, by the Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 161 La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. An assorted package may be had for ten cents.

These leaflets will cover the various reasons for, and answer the common objections against, National Constitutional Prohibition.

For reasons for prohibition *per se*, and answers to the "high license" and "local option" policies, etc., make use of other lines of prohibition leaflets. Such lines are kept for sale by publishers of Prohibition literature, especially the Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 161 La Salle Street, Chicago; the National Temperance Society and Publication House, 58 Reade Street, New York; Funk & Wagnalls, 18 and 20 Astor Place, New York; Center-Lever Co., 123 La Salle Street, Chicago, and the National Committee of the Prohibition party, 32 East 14th Street, New York. Send to these for sample copies. Inclose a two-cent stamp.

The committee should keep a supply of the National Prohibitory Amendment leaflets always on hand for distribution. We repeat: "Bear constantly in mind that there is a large reading public which is usually not a part of the listening public."

Some of each number of the N. P. A. leaflets should be carried by persons canvassing for names. Copies should be handed to each objector which meet the particular objections offered. This is the main use to be made of these leaflets. They should be distributed, also, in the usual ways. Especially should they be kept with other literature in Prohibition racks, and in street cars and other public conveyances of a local character whenever permission can be obtained for doing so. The committees of the several canvassing districts of a city should combine their efforts in securing permission and supplying public conveyances. Distribute at the close of prohibition and other meetings as the judgment of the committee may dictate.

How to keep account of distribution of literature, is given in the following form. This account is to be kept by secretaries of committees only.

NO. II.

ACCOUNT OF DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE.

(Under "how distributed," state the quantity distributed through N. P. A. canvassers, prohibition racks and public conveyances, at the close of meetings, etc.)

<i>Kind of Literature.</i>	<i>Name of Publishing House.</i>	<i>Date of Purchase.</i>	<i>Quantity Purchased.</i>	<i>Cost of Purchase.</i>	<i>How Distributed.</i>
----------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------

REPORTING LOCAL WORK TO PROHIBITION ORGANIZATIONS.

The achievements of N. P. A. committees for local work are to be reported monthly and semi-annually to Prohibition organizations.

These reports are to be made out by the secretary of the respective committees, and are to be signed by the chairman and secretary.

A copy of monthly reports is to be handed to each member of the local committee.

A copy of semi-annual reports is to be furnished each member of the three classes of committees.

Each member of local committees is to have a report book to paste reports into.

Report books, prepared for use, are to be furnished members by the committee. They are to be divided into four parts. The first part is for the reception of the monthly reports; the second, the semi-annual reports; the third, the yearly reports of the N. P. A. committee for Congressional work; and the fourth part is for the reception of the reports, after proposal of the Amendment, of N. P. A. committees for State legislative work.

The second part of report books is to be sub-divided into five parts. The first sub-division is for the semi-annual report of the canvassing district; the second, for that of the several canvassing districts of the county converted into a county report; the third, for that of the canvassing districts of the District converted into a District report; the fourth, for that of the canvassing districts of the State or Territory, converted into a State or Territorial report; and the fifth sub-division for that of the canvassing districts of the United States converted into a National report.

These report books are to remain the property of the committee to the end of the canvass, when they may be otherwise disposed of. As the membership changes, report books are to be turned over to successors in office.

Representatives of the several organizations represented on local committees should take turn in presenting reports to their respective organizations.

Through the various reports duly presented, local, State, and National Prohibition organizations of the country will be kept thoroughly posted in regard to the progress of the canvass.

MONTHLY REPORTS.

Monthly reports are to embrace the work done by N. P. A. committees for local work during the month, beginning on the first Monday of each month.

Monthly reports for the respective months next preceding semi-annual reports, may be omitted at the option of committees.

These reports are to be made out by the secretary of the committee on the first Thursday after the first Monday of each month. That is, they are to be made out immediately following the copying into the general register from canvassing registers and the reports of sub-committees.

Below is given the form of monthly reports. Printed blanks for these reports will be kept for sale, during the canvass, by the Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 161 La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.

NO. 12.

FORM OF MONTHLY REPORTS.

Report of work done by the N. P. A. committee for local work of during the month ending the first Monday in, 18—.

(N. C. P. stands for National Constitutional Prohibition or Prohibitionists. Omit lines containing the words "to date" in the *first* report.)

No

N. C. P. enrolled during the month	voters	non-voters
N. C. P. enrolled to date	voters	non-voters
N. C. P. who have signed popular petitions to		
Congress during the month	voters	non-voters
N. C. P. who have signed popular petitions to		
Congress to date	voters	non-voters
Representative petitions to Congress secured during the month———aggregate		
Representative petitions to Congress to date———aggregate		
Sermons specially advocating N. C. P. during the month		
Sermons specially advocating N. C. P. to date		
Sermons briefly advocating N. C. P. during the month		
Sermons briefly advocating N. C. P. to date		
Addresses specially advocating N. C. P. during the month		
Addresses specially advocating N. C. P. to date		
Addresses briefly advocating N. C. P. during the month		
Addresses briefly advocating N. C. P. to date		
Sermons specially opposing N. C. P. during the month		
Sermons specially opposing N. C. P. to date		
Sermons briefly opposing N. C. P. during the month		
Sermons briefly opposing N. C. P. to date		
Addresses mainly opposing N. C. P. during the month		
Addresses mainly opposing N. C. P. to date		

Addresses briefly opposing N. C. P. during the month

Addresses briefly opposing N. C. P. to date

N. C. P. selected matter canvass gleanings and report résumés secured published in newspapers other than Religious and Prohibition organs, during the month, Rep. Dem Ind Neu. other

N. C. P. selected matter canvass gleanings and report résumés secured published in newspapers, other than Religious and Prohibition party organs, to date, Rep. Dem Ind Neu. other

Pages of Prohibition literature distributed during the month, through N. P. A. canvassers racks and public conveyances at close of meetings otherwise

Pages of Prohibition literature distributed to date, through N. P. A. canvassers racks and public conveyances at close of meetings otherwise

Different occupations * of N. C. P. represented to date, ... clergymen lawyers physicians editors publishers university or college professors other teachers farmers gardeners merchants carpenters masons milliners dressmakers printers miners home-keepers house-help street car or railroad employes United States officials State or Territorial officials county officials precinct or township officials city or town officials school district officials other

Amount of money received during the month, contributed by local Prohibition organizations contributions from other sources through efforts of committee

Amount of money received to date, ... contributed by local Prohibition organizations contributions from other sources through efforts of committee

Amount of money expended during the month

Amount of money expended to date

SUMMARY OF VOTERS (TO DATE).

N. C. P. Republicans

N. C. P. Democrats

N. C. P. Prohibitionists

N. C. P. _____

N. C. P. _____

N. C. P. _____

Total

Voting population of the canvassing district

Per cent. of known National Constitutional Prohibitionists to voting population of the canvassing district

SEMI-ANNUAL REPORTS.

The first semi-annual report is to embrace the work done by N. P. A. committees for local work during the first six months of the canvass, beginning the first Monday in December, 1889, and ending the first Monday in June, 1890.

The second is to embrace the work done the second six months of the canvass, beginning the first Monday in June, 1890, and ending the first Monday in December, 1890.

The third is to embrace the work done the third six months of the canvass, beginning the first Monday in December, 1890, and ending the first Monday in June, 1891.

* Insert in the column simply the number of different occupations represented by National Constitutional Prohibitionists. The reading will make known the number secured in each class.

The fourth is to embrace the work done the fourth six months of the canvass, beginning the first Monday in June, 1891, and ending the first Monday in December, 1891.

The fifth is to embrace the work done the fifth six months of the canvass, beginning the first Monday in December, 1891, and ending the first Monday in June, 1892.

And so on, if the Amendment should not be proposed by Congress to the States for ratification within two years and a half, as anticipated.

Each report, after the first, is to contain a summary of former reports.

These reports are to be made out by the respective secretaries of N. P. A. committees for local work between the first and second Mondays of June and December yearly.

The respective secretaries are to send a copy of semi-annual reports to the County W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions. Should there be no such County Superintendent, the copy of semi-annual reports is to be sent to the State, or Territorial, W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

The County W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions will compile the reports of the several N. P. A. committees for local work of the county and return the compiled report to the committees, a printed copy for each member.

The County W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions will send a copy of the compiled report also to the District W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions, and to the State, or Territorial, W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

The District W. C. T. U. Superintendent will convert the county reports of the District into a District report and return to the several County W. C. T. U. Superintendents, who, in turn will send copies of the District report to the several N. P. A. committees for local work of their respective counties.

The State, or Territorial, W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions will convert the county reports into a State, or Territorial, report and return to the several county W. C. T. U. Superintendents, who in turn, will send copies of the State, or Territorial, report to the several N. P. A. committees for local work of their respective counties.

Each State, or Territorial, W. C. T. U. Superintendent will send a copy of the State, or Territorial report also to the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions, and to each General Officer of the several State, or Territorial, Prohibition organizations.

The National W. C. T. U. Superintendent will convert the State and Territorial reports into a National report, and return to the several State and Territorial W. C. T. U. Superintendents. She will, also, send a copy of the National report to each General Officer of the several National Prohibition organizations.

Each State, or Territorial, W. C. T. U. Superintendent will send copies of the National report to the several county W. C. T. U. Superintendents,

who, in turn, will send copies of the National report to the several N. P. A. committees for local work of their respective counties.

The National, State, District and County W. C. T. U. Superintendents will have the respective reports printed and will forward enough copies of each to supply down the line, so that a printed copy may be handed general officers of State Prohibition organizations, and to each member of N. P. A. committees for local work.

Each county W. C. T. U. Superintendent in sending reports to the District and State, or Territorial, W. C. T. U. Superintendents, should state how many copies of the compiled reports will be needed to supply N. P. A. committees for local work of her county. And each State, or Territorial, W. C. T. U. Superintendent should advise the National W. C. T. U. Superintendent as to the number of National reports it will take to supply one to each member of N. P. A. committees for local work and the general officers of State Prohibition organizations, of her State, or Territory.

Semi-annual reports of N. P. A. committees for local work, are to be forwarded to the W. C. T. U. Superintendent on the *second* Mondays of June and December. The *third* Mondays of these months the county reports are to be forwarded, and the district reports on the *fourth* Mondays. State or Territorial reports are to be forwarded on *first* Mondays of January and July, and National reports on *first* Mondays of February and August.

When unable to forward reports at time stated, send them the earliest moment afterwards possible. Whenever sent, semi-annual reports will cover the work done during the six months ending the first Monday in June, or December, of each year.

The form of semi-annual committee reports is given below. Printed blanks for these reports will be kept for sale, during the canvass, by the Woman's Temperance Publication Association, 161 La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Printed blanks for County, District, State or National reports will not be kept by the W. T. P. A. For these reports make use of the form of semi-annual committee reports by changing them to meet the new requirements. This may be done by pasting over the heading a proper one, either printed or written. Thus :

County reports head :

Report of work done by N. P. A. Committees for Local Work of county of, State (or Territory) of, during the six months ending the first Monday in June (or December), 18—.

District reports head :

Report of work done by N. P. A. Committees for Local Work of the District, State of, during the six months ending the first Monday in June (or December), 18—.

State reports head :

Report of work done by N. P. A. Committees for Local Work of the State (or Territory) of, during the six months ending the first Monday in June (or December), 18—.

The heading for National reports would undergo similar change.

NO. 13.

FORM OF SEMI-ANNUAL COMMITTEE REPORTS.

Report of work done by the N. P. A. Committee for Local Work of, during the six months ending the first Monday in June (or December), 18—.

(N. C. P. stands for National Constitutional Prohibition or Prohibitionists. Omit lines containing the words "since last report" in the *first* report.)

No.

N. C. P. enrolled since last report, voters	non-voters
N. C. P. enrolled to date, voters	non-voters
N. C. P. who have signed popular petitions to Congress since last report, voters	non-voters
N. C. P. who have signed popular petitions to Congress to date, voters	non-voters
Representative petitions to Congress since last report—aggregate	
Representative petitions to Congress to date—aggregate	
Sermons specially advocating N. C. P. since last report	
Sermons specially advocating N. C. P. to date	
Sermons briefly advocating N. C. P. since last report	
Sermons briefly advocating N. C. P. to date	
Addresses specially advocating N. C. P. since last report	
Addresses specially advocating N. C. P. to date	
Addresses briefly advocating N. C. P. since last report	
Addresses briefly advocating N. C. P. to date	
Sermons specially opposing N. C. P. since last report	
Sermons specially opposing N. C. P. to date	
Sermons briefly opposing N. C. P. since last report	
Sermons briefly opposing N. C. P. to date	
Addresses mainly opposing N. C. P. since last report	
Addresses mainly opposing N. C. P. to date	
Addresses briefly opposing N. C. P. since last report	
Addresses briefly opposing N. C. P. to date	
N. C. P. selected matter	canvass gleanings and report resumes secured published in newspapers other than Religious and Prohibition party organs, since last report, Rep Dem Ind Neu other
N. C. P. selected matter	canvass gleanings and report resumes secured published in newspapers other than Religious and Prohibition party organs, to date, Rep. Dem, ... Ind Neu other
Pages of Prohibition literature distributed since last report, through N. P. A. canvassers	racks and public conveyances at close of meetings otherwise
Pages of Prohibition literature distributed to date, through N. P. A. canvassers	racks and public conveyances at close of meetings otherwise

Different occupations * of N. C. P. represented to date, clergymen lawyers
 physicians editors publishers university or college professors . . .
 other teachers farmers gardeners merchants carpenters
 masons milliners dressmakers printers miners
 homekeepers house-help street car or railroad employes United
 States officials State or Territorial officials county officials pre-
 cinct or township officials city or town officials school district officials
 other

Amount of money received since last report: Contributed by local Prohibition organiza-
 tions, contributions from other sources, through efforts of committee . .

Amount of money received to date: Contributed by local Prohibition organizations
 contributions from other sources, through efforts of committee

Amount of money expended since last report

Amount of money expended to date

SUMMARY OF VOTERS (TO DATE).

N. C. P. Republicans
 N. C. P. Democrats
 N. C. P. Prohibitionists
 N. C. P. _____
 N. C. P. _____
 N. C. P. _____

Total

Voting population of the canvassing district

Per cent. of known National Constitutional Prohibitionists to voting popula-
 tion of the canvassing district

CONGRESSIONAL CANVASSING AND REPORTS.

This branch of the work embodies:

First.—Preparation.

Second.—Performance.

Third.—Annual Reports.

PREPARATION.—This consists of getting ready to address annually the committee of each body having the Amendment referred to it, and to interview members of Congress, to the end that the Amendment shall be returned by the committees with a favorable report thereon, and, being supported by two-thirds of both branches, shall be submitted by Congress to the several States for ratification.

PERFORMANCE.—This consists of addressing committees, interviewing members of Congress, and any other efforts which may be put forth in behalf of the Amendment.

ANNUAL REPORTS.—These, signed by the chairman and secretary, are to embrace an account of petitions and memorials forwarded to Congress by N. P. A. Committees for local work, results of efforts put forth by the N. P. A. Committee for Congressional work and money received and expended.

* Insert in the column simply the number of different occupations represented by National Constitutional Prohibitionists. The reading will make known the number secured in each class.

A copy of each annual report is to be furnished to individual members of the committee, to the General Officers of the several State and Territorial Prohibition organizations, and to committeemen of canvassing districts of the country. The same method is to be employed in reaching persons with these reports as in the case of National reports, given on page 95.

Members of the N. P. A. Committee for Congressional work should provide themselves with report books similar to those local committeemen are to be furnished.

AFTER PROPOSAL OF THE AMENDMENT.

GENERAL DIRECTIONS TO N. P. A. COMMITTEES FOR STATE LEGISLATIVE WORK.

Initiatory steps for organizing these committees are given on page 74. Former local work, as far as applicable, is to be continued. In continuing any branch, the prescribed method is to be followed.

The old general and canvassing registers should be continued in use, after proposal of the Amendment, if unused space will admit.

Record-making, after proposal of the Amendment, will necessitate three changes being made in general registers. These are: *First.* The index is to page representative petitions to the State Legislature instead of to Congress. *Second.* The heading of form No. 3 is to become: Record of representative petitions to the State Legislature. *Third.* In registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists not already enrolled, form No. 14 is to be used instead of No. 4.

In canvassing registers, also, form No. 14 will take the place of form No. 4, in registering National Constitutional Prohibitionists not already enrolled.

The report books are to be continued in use.

Below is given form No. 14 which takes the place of form No. 4.

NO. 14.

FORM OF REGISTERING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITIONISTS.

National Constitutional Prohibitionists of

MEN.

We, the undersigned, hereby declare ourselves in favor of, and that we will petition for, ratification by our State Legislature of the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has been proposed by Congress, providing for the prohibition of the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

(Let Rep. stand for Republican, Dem. for Democrat, Pro. for Prohibitionist, etc. Revise as party relation changes. Under "Remarks" make

the following record as the case may require, using red ink : Removed, Deceased, or name withdrawn, with date of withdrawal. Through the name draw a light red line. Opposite names transferred from list of minors write in red the word *Transferred*.)

<i>Name.</i>		<i>Date of Signature.</i>		<i>Occupation.</i>		<i>Politics.</i>		<i>Committeeman.</i>		<i>Remarks.</i>
--------------	--	---------------------------	--	--------------------	--	------------------	--	----------------------	--	-----------------

NO. 14.—CONTINUED.

FORM OF REGISTERING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITIONISTS.

National Constitutional Prohibitionists of

WOMEN.

(Continue as under form for "men.")

NO. 14.—CONTINUED.

FORM OF REGISTERING NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITIONISTS.

National Constitutional Prohibitionists of

MINORS OVER SIXTEEN.

(Continue as under form for "men." As minors become of age transfer their names to the proper adult list and write in red opposite the transferred name the word *transferred*. Also draw a light red line through the name.)

STATE LEGISLATIVE PETITION WORK.

NO. 15.

FORM OF POPULAR PETITIONS.

PETITION

FOR RATIFICATION OF THE

NATIONAL PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT.

(Circulated by Committee composed of representatives of the several Prohibition organizations in the of, viz.: W. C. T. U., ...) To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives (or Assembly) of the State of:

We, the undersigned, citizens of, county of, earnestly pray you to ratify the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has been proposed by Congress, providing for the prohibition of the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

(Each signer will please write in designated place the word *voter* or *non-voter*, as the case may be; also politics and occupation. Signatures of minors over sixteen are desired.)

<i>Name.</i>		<i>Voter or Non-voter.</i>		<i>Politics.</i>		<i>Occupation.</i>
--------------	--	----------------------------	--	------------------	--	--------------------

NO. 16.

FORM OF REPRESENTATIVE PETITIONS.

PETITION
FOR RATIFICATION OF THE
NATIONAL PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT.

(Procured by committee composed of representatives of the several Prohibition organizations in the, of, viz.: W. C. T. U., ...)

To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives (or Assembly) of the State of

The, in assembled, held in, on the day of, 18—, numbering (or representing) members, adopted the following resolution and directed the presiding officer and secretary to sign and transmit it to the Legislature, viz.:

Resolved, That we earnestly pray the Legislature of to ratify the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has been proposed by Congress providing for the prohibition of the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

., *President (or Chairman)*.
., *Secretary*.

HOW TO USE THE PETITIONS.

The first thing to do is to secure the signatures on two petitions of all National Constitutional Prohibitionists whose names appear affixed to the pledge in canvassing registers of the district.

This done, continue the work of registering others, and securing their signatures on the two petitions—one to be presented in each body of the State Legislature. As in the prior petition work, so in this, *do not copy names*. Procure original signatures on each set of petitions.

In carrying on this branch of the canvass, follow the first seven of the directions given under Congressional petition work, beginning on page 82. Follow the eighth, using the new form for representative petitions.

Begin sending the petitions to the State Capital on the second Monday of the first session of the State Legislature after proposal of the Amendment. Collect the petitions for sending on the first Thursday after the first Monday of the Legislative session. Afterwards, transmit petitions from time to time when ten or more additional names are secured, until the adjournment of the Legislature for the session.

Should the Legislature be sitting at time of proposal of the Amendment, begin sending the petitions at once.

If no action, or adverse action, is taken on the proposition, continue securing names to transmit the next session. In case of adverse action, modify forms so as to ask for reconsideration at the hands of the subsequent Legislature. Otherwise, follow No. 9 of the directions, page 83.

Send the representative petitions without indorsement to be properly indorsed by the chairman of the N. P. A. Committee for State Legislative work

For the indorsement on each popular petition use the subjoined form, No. 17, writing VERY PLAINLY at the *top* of the folded petition, and filling blank spaces.

When the petitions are ready to be forwarded, send them to the State Capital addressed to the

Chairman N. P. A. Committee for State Legislative Work.

Word will be left at the State Capital post-office as to where to deliver mail matter thus addressed.

The chairman of the N. P. A. Committee for State Legislative work will have a record made of the petitions, for use in the canvass. The two from each canvassing district will then be handed, one to the Senator representing the county in which the canvassing district is located, and the other to the proper member of the Lower House.

NO. 17.

FORM OF INDORSEMENT ON POPULAR PETITIONS TO STATE LEGISLATURES.

Petition of citizens, (— voters and — non-voters), of county, praying for ratification of the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has been proposed by Congress, providing for the prohibition of the manufacture, importation, exportation, transportation and sale of all alcoholic liquors as a beverage.

REPORTING LOCAL WORK TO PROHIBITION ORGANIZATIONS.

The achievements of N. P. A. Committees for local work, after proposal, are to be reported in the same way as before proposal of the Amendment

The only changes to be made in the form of reports are the following :

In monthly and semi-annual reports, omit the word "Congress" in the third, fourth, fifth and sixth lines, and insert the words *the State Legislature*, instead. (See form of monthly reports, page 93, and semi-annual reports, page 97.)

Copies of these reports are to be furnished to the same persons, and through the same channels, as were monthly and semi-annual reports before proposal of the Amendment.

STATE LEGISLATIVE CANVASSING AND REPORTS.

This branch of the work embodies :

First.—Preparation.

Second.—Performance.

Third.—Reports.

PREPARATION.—This consists : *First.* In addressing, if the Legislature is not sitting, an official letter to members elect, not already committed to the interest, asking their vote for ratification. *Second.* In procuring influential persons to interview such members before their departure for the seat of State government, and to secure, if they can, promises to support ratification. *Third.* In procuring, after convening of the Legislature, of letters to members to the same effect by influential people of their respective vicinities. *Fourth.* In completing the preparation for introduction of petitions and memorials forwarded by N. P. A. Committees for local work. *Fifth.* In getting ready to address the committee of both Houses of the Legislature to which the Amendment is referred, if it be referred to committees and it is thought best to ask to be heard. *Sixth.* In getting ready to address the committee of the whole House, providing invitation, or permission, to do so is received from either body. *Seventh.* In getting ready to interview individual members in behalf of the Amendment. All to the end that the Amendment shall receive favorable action at the hands of committees, and, finally, shall be ratified by the Legislature.

PERFORMANCE.—This consists in the handing of petitions and memorials to members for presenting in their respective bodies, in addressing committees, in interviewing members, and in any other efforts which may be put forth to secure ratification of the Amendment.

REPORTS.—But one report is to be made by each N. P. A. Committee for State legislative work, and this at the end of the canvass in that State. It, signed by the chairman and secretary, is to embrace an account of petitions and memorials forwarded by N. P. A. Committees for local work and presented in the Legislature, an account, with results, of efforts put forth by the committee before ratification and of money received and expended.

A copy of each State legislative report is to be furnished to members of the committee, to General Officers of other State and of National Prohibition organizations, and to committeemen of canvassing districts of the country. The General Officers of the several Territorial Prohibition organi-

zations are to be furnished with copies also. The same method is to be employed in reaching persons with these reports as in the case of National reports, given on page 95.

Members of N. P. A. Committees for State Legislative work should provide themselves with report books similar to those local committeemen are to be furnished.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF COMMITTEES.

The expenses of National Prohibitory Amendment committees are to be met by contributions from the organizations represented on them, by contributions from other sources, and by the efforts of individual committees put forth in various ways as the circumstances may warrant.

All contributions should be sent to the Treasurer of the committee. The Treasurer should promptly acknowledge receipts.

The committee should furnish the Treasurer with a blank-book in which to record moneys received and expended during the canvass.

On the first Monday of each month, the Treasurer is to furnish the Secretary with a statement of the month's receipts and expenditures for incorporating into monthly and semi-annual reports.

Below is given the form of keeping the account. It will answer for the three classes of committees.

NO. 18.

Treasurer of N. P. A. Committee for

DR. In account with the Committee. CR.

<i>Date of receipt.</i>	<i>Source of receipt.</i>	<i>Amount of receipt.</i>	<i>Date of expenditure.</i>	<i>For what expended.</i>	<i>Amount of expenditure.</i>

◁ SINCE MAY 1ST, 1889, ▷

(To Oct. 1st, 1889,)

We have printed four editions of 10,000 Copies Each,

✻ 40,000 ✻

Of Miss Frances E. Willard's new autobiographical book,

"Glimpses of Fifty Years."

The next edition of 10,000—making 50,000 in all—is now on the press.

WHAT THEN?

Why, that it's a splendid selling book—greatly in demand—very much liked wherever it goes and that 2,000 or more people find it easy to make a good living selling it. Don't you want to join them? Know of anyone that needs employment and can not find it? Don't hesitate to write for circulars and terms promptly. There is good territory to be had for the asking. Address,

THE PUBLISHERS,
THE WOMAN'S TEMP. PUB. ASS'N,
161 La Salle Street,
Chicago.

OR

THE GENERAL AGENTS,
H. J. SMITH & CO.,
Chicago, Philadelphia, Kansas City, Mo.,
Oakland, Cal.
General agents for United States, Canada
Australia, Sandwich Islands.

National Prohibitory Amendment Leaflets.

Compiled by Ada M. Bittenbender, National W. C. T. U.
Superintendent of Legislation and Petitions.

These leaflets cover the various reasons for National Constitutional Prohibition, and answer the common objections against it.

SEND TEN CENTS FOR AN ASSORTED PACKAGE.

Address, THE WOMAN'S TEMP. PUB. ASS'N,

161 La Salle Street, Chicago.

How Can Good Work be Done Without Tools?

In juvenile work, especially, one should be well fitted for teaching temperance to the future voters.

MISS ANNA GORDON'S

series of helps will be found simply invaluable.

QUESTIONS ANSWERED

is a compendium on Organization, Drilling, Entertainments, Supplies, Sunday-school Work, etc: Every possible question in juvenile work has been answered explicitly and clearly. Miss Frances E. Willard has written for it an eloquent "Appeal to Mothers."

Covers cloth-lined and printed in colors. Price 25 cents.

PROHIBITION PROGRAM

is the next on the list. An original collection of speeches, poems and songs for an evening's entertainment or home reading. It has a dialogue entitled "Sense *vs.* License," by E. J. Wheeler, which is wonderfully effective, pertinent and suggestive, and is full of help to every juvenile worker.

Price, 10 cents.

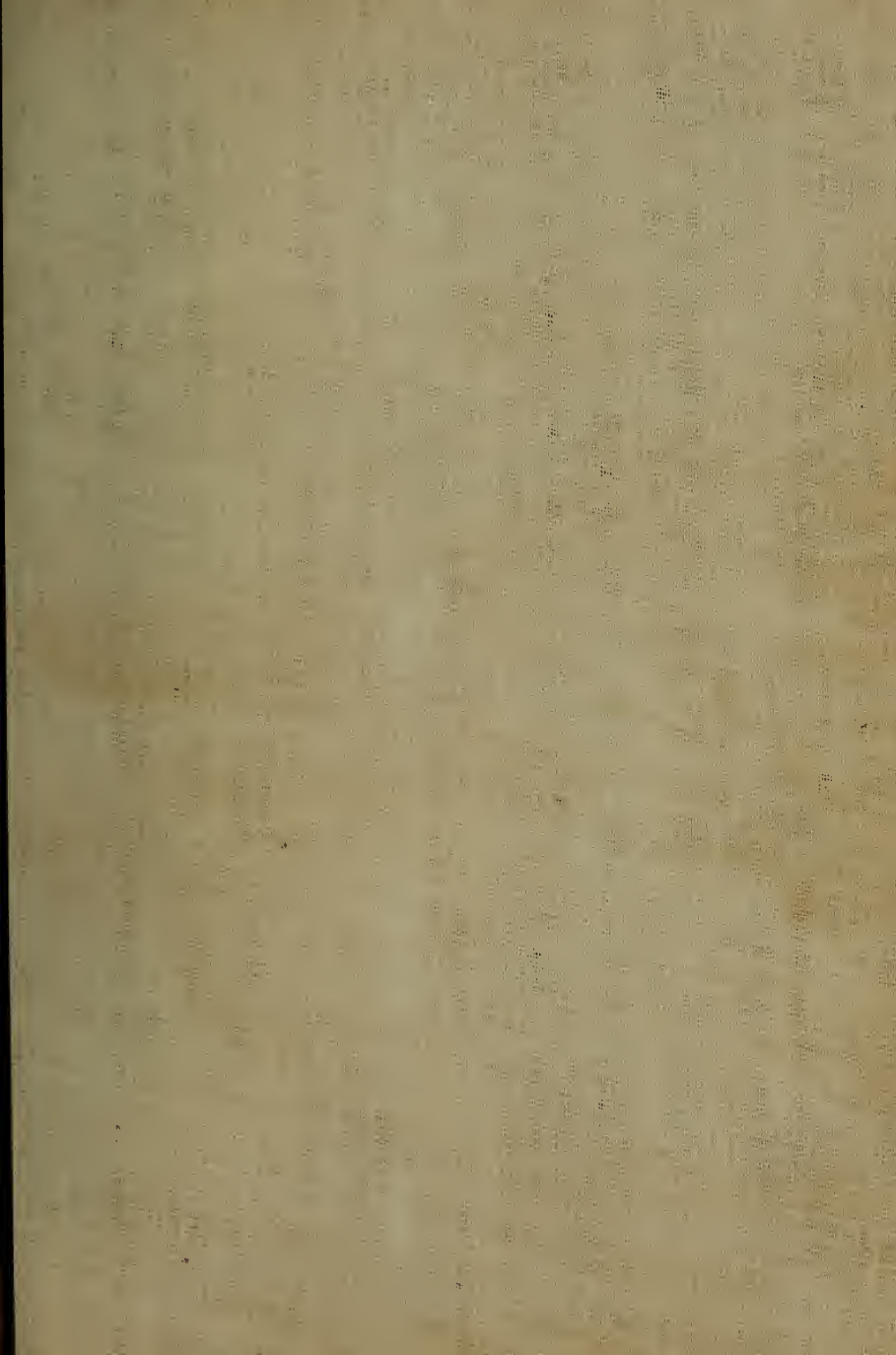
MARCHING SONGS.

A child without songs would be as lost as a bird without its tuneful voice. We have printed over 100,000 of these books of temperance songs, and the demand still continues. It is conceded to be the very best children's song book published. The reason for the success of this book, as well as of the others in the series, lies in the fact that Miss Gordon's experience, both as a teacher and from her constant attendance at Assemblies and Institutes, has been most wisely given. The prices of all the books are very moderate. A copy of Marching Songs, 64 pages, is only 10 cents.

All three books will be sent on receipt of 40 cents. Address:

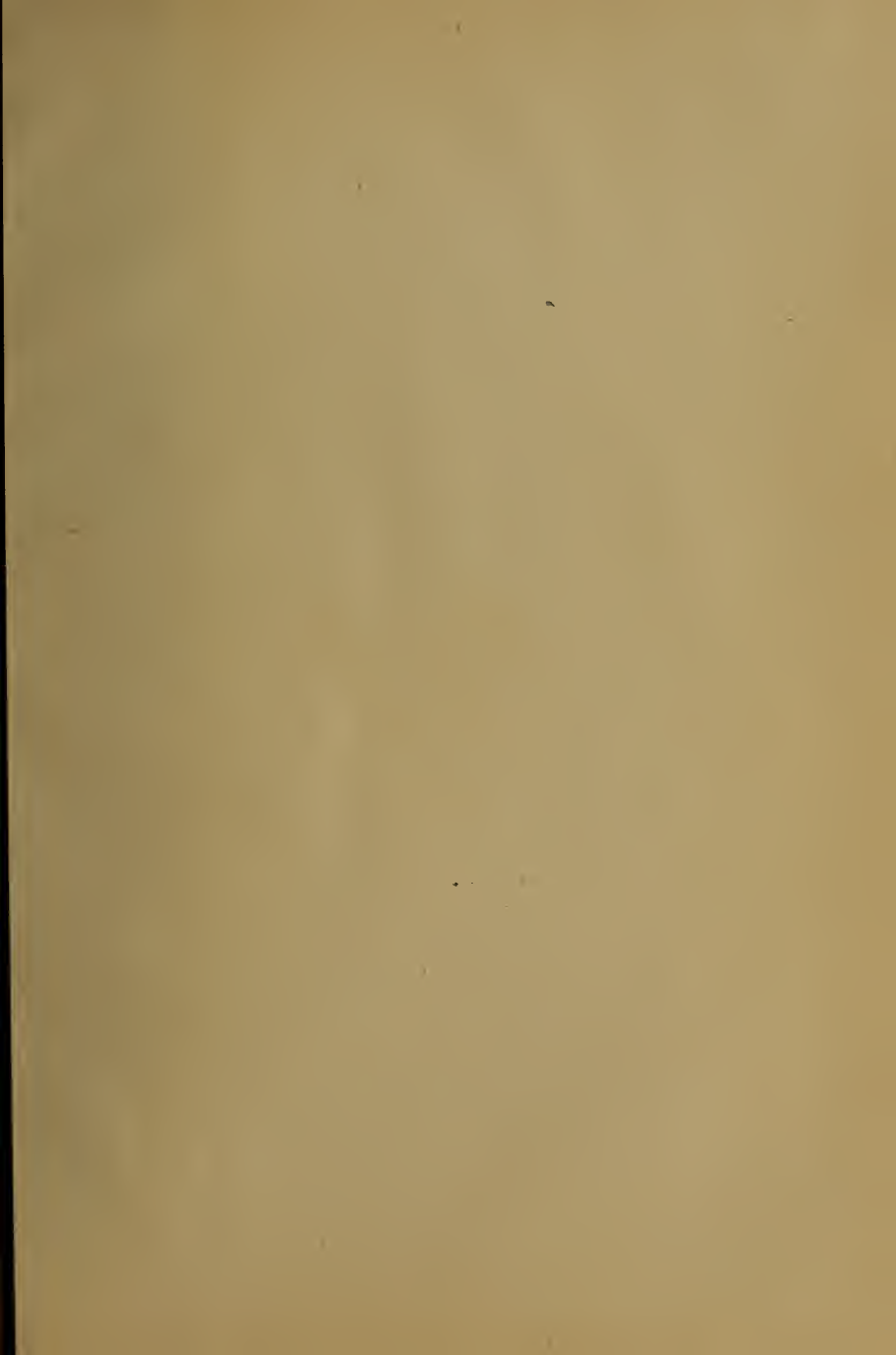
The Woman's Temperance Publication Association.

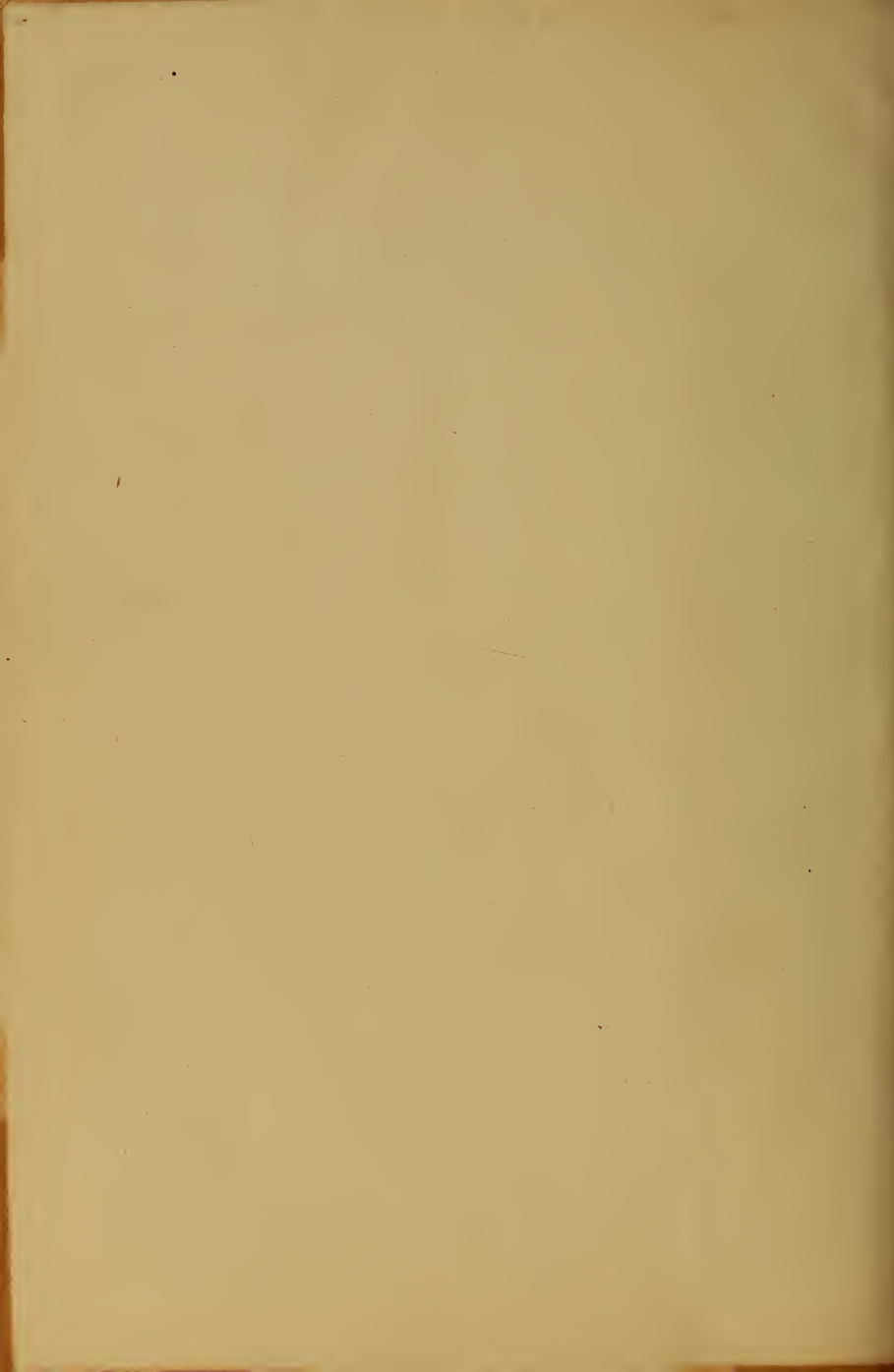
161 LA SALLE ST. CHICAGO



Effie







LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 027 331 627 9